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THE MIRROVR OF MINDES,

OR,

BARCLAY'S *Icon animorum,*

Englished by

T. M.

LONDON,

Printed by IOHN NORTON, for THOMAS WALKLEY, and are to bee sold at his shop, at the signe of the Eagle and Child in *Britaines-Burse.* 1631.

TO THE RIGHT HO-nourable, *Richard*, Lord *Weston*, Lord high Treasurer of *England*, Knight of the most Noble Order, &c.

My Lord,

I MIGHT be fearefull, that so great a Master of the learned Languages (as your

Lordship is knowne to be) hauing before read this acute discourse in the Originall, and enioyed the Authour in his owne strength and elegance, might not onely seuerely censure my weake translation; but iustly neglect the Presentation of it, as a thing needelesse and improper to your learned selfe. But may it please your Lordship to admit my reasons? First, the greater your abilities are, the more authority will your Name

giue

giue the worke to those that are meere English Readers, *and to whom my paines most properly doe belong.*

Barclay, *the learned Author, hauing with a sharpe and penetrating sight surueyed the difference of humane dispositions, and loth to bound his fame within the narrow limits of his owne Language, cloathed his worke (and that most elegantly) in the* Roman *tongue.*

I, lest our English *Gentlemen (as many of them as cannot master the Originall) should lose the sense of such a worke, haue made aduenture to benefit them, and with the losse (perchance) of mine owne fame, to extend the fame of* Barclay. *The second reason, and the chiefe, why I present it to your Lordship, is drawne from that analogy which I conceiue betweene the matter of this booke and your minde, being such, as it may*

be

be thought, if the Author himselfe had liued in this state, he would haue chosen the same Patron ; your minde (my Lord) being not onely moulded for the Muses to loue, but made for publike and high imployments, has not onely occasion to meete the differences of humane dispositions, but ability of iudgement to discerne them ; and with a conscious delight may run ouer the mention of those things heere, which your selfe

selfe haue by experience already found; and meete in some parts of this discourse, your owne perfections truly charactered.

To you, my Lord, to whose Noble bosome the Muses heretofore haue resorted for delight, they now flye for Patronage and shelter. To your hands I humbly present this weake endeauour, beseeching Almighty GOD *to blesse you with continuance and encrease of tem-*

temporall Honours, and after, with eternall Happinesse; so prayeth

Your Lordships
most humbly
deuoted

THO: MAY.

The First Chapter.

The Foure ages of man: *Childhood, Youth, Midle-age, Old-age.*

THe making, or marring of mankinde, as of other creatures, is, especially, in their first age. In Trees, the sprigs, whilest they are tender, will yeild with ease, to the grafters hand, and grow by his direction, either straight, or crooked. Soe, the mindes of infants, by their Parents skill, no lesse, then their bodies, by the Midwiues hand, may with ease

be moulded into such a fashion as will be durable in after-ages. The seedes especially, and fundamentall parts of vertue, are by an early, and strong perswasion, to bee soe engrafted into them, that they need not know, whither nature or præcept were the teachers of them. To be dutifull to their parents, and obedient to their counsels; to abhorre intemperance, lying, and deceite, as prodigies and things vnusuall; to adore especially the power of God, and sometimes by mercy, sometimes by iudgement, to consider of it. These things must bee taught them, without trouble or seuerity; for what euer wee follow for feare of punishment, from the same things with a sad loathing wee vse to bee

auerse,

auerſe, and the hatred conceiued in our youth, I know not by what cuſtome of horrour, wee oft nourish in our old age. They muſt daily bee ſeaſoned with inſtructions concerning the excellency and rewards of vertue; and vices in a ſhamefull and diſdainefull manner, muſt be named to them, to make them altogether ignorant, that ſuch vices are now often in publike practiſed, and without infamy. Being thus brought vp in ſuch gentle rudiments, they will hate vices, and learne not to feare vertue as too rigid, and harſh a miſtreſſe. They will eaſily bee brought to theſe beginnings of right diſcipline, by the guidance of their parents and teachers, whoſe opinions, like diuine Oracles, will altogether ſway

their minds yet weake, and not troubled with the ambition of iudging. Beſides this, they cannot be allured, by the flattering promiſes of any vice, whoſe age as yet, is not onely vnexperienced of pleaſure, but vtterly incapable of it: they will therefore eaſily condemne that thing, which in the iudgement of their friends, is diſhoneſt, and commended to themſelues, by noe temptation. Nor, would we here initiate their childhood in any ſuch torment, as ſuperſtitious, and anxious piety; but manly, and wary vertue; for ſince the mindes of men, by an inbred waight, bend heauily downward to the woſt things; wee had neede to bow them, while yet they are tender, quite contrary; that by this meanes

when

when their naturall force shall bring them backe, they may yet retaine a happy meane betwixt their nature, and education. But in this discipline of tender youth, as soone as their mindes are sensible of praise, the desire of it is to bee kindled in them, that they may then learne, and accustome themselues to affect honour; and in all exercises, either in schooles, or abroad at play, they may labour with delight to excell their equals. Besides, when their age encreasing, shall bring them by degrees as it were, out of bondage, soe that both the awe of their parents may not too sensibly decrease in them, and they not wanton it, through a sudda ne, and vnexpected encrease of liberty: we must leaue their childhood to those

delights which are proper to that age, leaſt we ſhould ſeeme to accuſe nature, which hath ordained that age to bee weake and feeble; and vnſeaſonable ſowing of wiſedome in them, corrupt their natures, not yet ripe for ſuch inſtructions. Let harmeleſſe wantonneſſe be freely allowed them; let them gently be taught learning, rather as a change of recreation then a loathſome burthen; and rather feare, then feele, the correction of their parents: let them laſtly, enioy that freedome which nature in pity hath beſtowed on them; nor bee forced to endure the puniſhment of humane cares, before they haue deſerued them; vnleſſe we thinke, it may be accounted among the leaſt of miſchiefes, when children altogether

gether restrained from playing, are (like the Wife of that *Stolon*) terrified at all noyse of reds; and doe exhibite to themselues, and reuolue wisedome, in the shape of an Hobgoblin, whose sowre, and sharpe documents they are not yet capable of.

That sense of misery which is most cruelly exquisite, is most incident to that age: Whilst their tender mindes doe want ability to gouerne their feare, and iudge of miseries, which yet they know not, worse then they are. And as men, whom fortune hath broken with great calamities, how large so euer their capacities are, will fill them all with the sense, and contemplation of their owne miseries: euen soe in children, when that happens which

they feare the worſt, all their ability of fearing, and grieuing is ſpent vpon it. A man, which by chance had eſcaped the hands of theeues, who threatned to hange him; being asked, with what minde he expected death; with the ſame (quoth hee) that, when I was a boy, I expected whipping. Moreouer, the bitterneſſe of perpetuall feare in childrens mindes, conſumeth that moiſture, which nature intendeth to make abundant, for the ſpreading of their limmes, and growth of their bodies. For the ſtomacke we ſee, doth then want his naturall vigour, when the heate, and ſpirits are called from thence, to aide the diſtreſſed braine; nor is the blood ſtrongly diffuſed vpon promiſe of ioy, being too much

conſumed

consumed with the interruptions of sadnesse. Therefore such dispositions in the bondage of seuere custody, the abilities of their mindes, either frighted, or wasted, will stand at soe vnhappie a stay, that those, who were wise aboue their Childhood, do afterwards want the ordinary wisedome required at Mans estate. To Colts, and young Cattel', we freely allow an vncurbed wantonnesse, least their first strength, which is then growing, should bee hindered by a fearefull apprehension of future bondage; and are wee soe blinded in minde, that what wee behold in other creatures, we eyther neglect, or will not vnderstand in our owne children? Neither yet is this age of Infancy to bee let loose to an

infinite liberty; let them with moderation bee kept in awe, taught to reuerence their parents highly, and bee euer ignorant, how much liberty is permitted to them. For if the nature of a child be too malapert and full of fierceneſſe, theſe præcepts of lenity belong not to him; that ſwelling, which the vice of nature has engendred in him, and which often the parents too much gentleneſſe hath ripened, and brought to a perfect vlcer, may bee eaſily lanced, and taken away, whileſt yet it is greene, and of eaſie growth. After this manner, their delighted childhood ſhal be freely left, both to their own, and their parents pleaſure; & after they haue fulfilled the folly of their harmleſſe concupiſcence, age it ſelfe will

will by little and little, change their desires; and the rootes of vertue will spring vp in them, which they will loue, not soe much by heat of nature, as iudgment. Then they will bring to their first youth, and twilight of wisdome, a minde free, altogether quiet, which by the vertue of their education, will easily embrace the beauty of that light.

But as euery meane is directly opposed to two extreame vices more contrary to each other, then to the middle vertue; soe those that would call the raw mindes of children to too hasty a ripenesse of studies, may well bee accused as ignorant of the strength, which nature hath bestowed vpon that age. For besides, that some children haue rath-ripe wits, as *Papyrius* child-

Childhood was iudged worthy of the Romane Senate. There is alſo a naturall dowry, and wealth beſtowed vpon thoſe yeares, a ſtrength of capacious, and eaſy memory, which is euer greateſt in the time of their childhood, and with an obſtinate felicity able to retaine what euer it hath then learned: but as age encreaſeth, the memory by little and little decayeth; like to a Dew of ſoueraigne Medicine to the body of man, which in the hot countries falls vpon the leaues of Holley; vnleſſe it be gathered at the breake of day, it will afterwards vaniſh at the ſun-riſing. Therefore with many, and often diſcourſes, with much reading of profitable Hiſtory, let their mindes bee filled, that children vnwittingly

may

may receiue ſuch good things as will afterwards grow vp in them, whither they will or noe. The variety alſo of Languages, which is gotten by vs, with much expence of time, will be eaſily taught our growing children by often diſcourſing, and conuerſing with them; ſo that theſe things of little labour and noe iudgement, will eaſily be attained vnto, by that age, which is neither ſtrong for labour, nor ripe for iudgement. But if wee ſhall ſuffer this eaſie, and moiſt memory, to grow emptily dry; thoſe very things muſt be afterwards learned with long and weariſome labour, which in our infancy, had bin better and with leſſe weariſomnes ſtored vp: for what is more miſerable, then to bee enforced to ſpend that time

of

of mans estate, which nature hath ordained a time of wisedome (though too to short for soe many Artes and Sciences) in such things, as our empty childhood, if well nurtured, had stored vp safely in the closets of our memories.

But in the childhood, there are often presages of future vertues, or vices; nature beginning to build a foundation fit for their following abilities. *Cyrus*, that first founded the *Persian* Monarchy, was then beleeued to bee a shepheards child, when there appeared in him that great spirit, which afterward put a yoake vpon the neckes of the whole East. when he was a Boy, hee played among Boyes of his owne age; and being chosen King by the chance

chance of play, hee truly exercised the regall power ouer his playfellowes: those that were stubborne, with a high and confident (if not too proud) a Maiesty hee seuerely punished. The fathers of those children, whom *Cyrus* had beaten, complained of it to King *Astyages*: the King commanded *Cyrus* to bee brought to him; who was nothingdaunted, nor expressed any childish, or low feare, at sight of the Throne, and royall Diadem; hee sayd, hee was chosen King among the Boyes, and had done nothing but the office of a King. *Astyages* suspecting from this some greater matters then the present fortunes of the Boy perswaded, enquired more narrowly of his birth, and parentage; and at last found him

to

to be his owne grandchilde, his daughters ſonne. That *Cato*, who was afterwards called *Vticenſis*, from the City of *Vtica*, where he killed himſelfe; was in his infancy more then a child. When the Latine Embaſſadours were come to *Rome*, as ſuitors for the endenization of their country, they went to the houſe of *Liuius Druſus*, *Catoes* vncle, who brought him vp: There the Embaſſadours asking the child in ieſt, if he would entreat, his vncle for them, hee anſwered not a word, but looked vpon them with a fierce countenance. The Embaſſadours wondering at the ſtubborneſſe of ſoe young a boy, began to flatter, & and afterward to threaten him but could not extort a word from him; at laſt, lifting him out

of

of the window in a high chamber, they made him beleeue, they would throw him downe; but hee scorning to feare at all, knit his browes, and looked more fiercely on them, then he did before; a presage, or beginning as it were, of that awfull security, which his whole life did afterward expresse. But they are often deceiu'd, who by the behauiour of children, will iudge too hastily of their future dispositions. For it must bee some great signe, and firmely constant aboue the leuity of that age, which must be brought as an effectuall argument, to iudge of the inclination of the future, and flexible yeares. There is one presage, which seldome, or neuer deceiueth vs, the easy shedding of teares in a child. For those children,

dren, which at the first appre-sion of griefe can truely weepe, are of a softer nature, and moulded, as it were, for humanity and loue. Some other children you shall see, though they cry aloud, yet maugre the threatning, or beating of their parents, are dry-eyed: those, when they grow vp, are of fierce natures; or else, their dissembling and darke bosomes, doe neuer entertaine, eyther true affections, or iust feares.

At their first entrance into mans estate, the heate of blood, and too great an apprehension of their owne strength, doth breede in them a wonderfull change, and carry away their mindes, as it were with a tide of inconsiderate confidence, and vaine security. That age, is the first

first that is fitted to entertaine delight; and reioyces not more in the tast of pleasures, then in the freedome and liberty, which they haue, to enioy them. They know not how to bee prouident for after-times, for their strengths yet raw, cannot cõsider how obnoxious they are to the turnes of fortune; and the many obiects of pleasure, and delight, haue soe possessed their soules, they haue left noe roome, nor leisure, to entertaine seuere wisedome, which at the first view doth seeme troublesome. Then indeed, doth nature most strongly carry euery disposition (not with a vaine, or dissembled desire) to his owne studies, for which especially hee was first formed. For then those, whom an humble fancy doth

doth inuite to low mæchanicall trades, doe by the guidance of fate, embrace those Arts, which were ordained for them: Some are addicted to the discipline of warre: others by the vigour and ability of wit, are carried to the Muses, or publike businesse; and euery kinde of humane dispositions, by the conduct of Nature, is thus adopted into his owne tribe. For if Nature doe not ioyne a certaine desire, and sweetenesse, to the profit of those labours, which shee doth prescribe; certainely youth, which is scarce gouerned by any reason, nor apt to entertaine any thing vnpleasant, might almost bee excused, though it went astray.

Moreouer, that naturall vigour, and imitation of industry will

will ſhew it ſelfe, euen in thoſe careleſſe liues, which are altogether ſequeſtred from labour and buſineſſe; like the Seedes of graſſe, which in ſpight of ſtones that oppoſe their growth, will ſhoote out their tops, through little cranyes; to ſhew (at the leaſt) that their growth is killed. For when young men haue loſt themſelues, either by ſloth, riot, or a mad deſire of too much ſociety, and wearied with their ſports, and pleaſures, they retire ſometimes to a ſhew of labour, and ſlightly buſie themſelues in it, onely to ſerue them as a change of delight; they will fall eſpecially vpon that buſines, which Nature had giuen them a fit minde and Genius to follow with induſtrie. Soe that thoſe motions to certaine acti-

ons

ons infused by fate into euery man, can neuer be wholy extinguished or perish.

But as trees out of strength and plenty of nourishment doe growtoo ranck,and spredthemselues into vnnecessary branches, but when that ranckneſſe is beter ripened,and concocted, they prosper with happy fruit: soe,a young man of a hot, and high soule, after his first freedome is ouerpast,may well take vp,in such a moderation, as is fit to entertaine the best wisedome. But if from the beginning of his youth,hee haue alwayes shewed a mature and sober strength of minde; hee will languish away in vnprofitable dullneſſe before his old age.But this especially is a great token of future vertue, if amongst

mong all his pleasures and delights hee loue with eagernesse any one thing; and follow that delight (whatsoeuer it be) with too seemingly vehement and fierce an appetite. For this hot desire of his, at the least declares, that hee is able to entertaine a true and laborious desire of those studies, which he affects; without which disposition no man can truely eyther follow vertue, or dedicate himselfe to glory.

But although the counsels of old age bee sometimes distastfull to the freedome of youth; yet the opinion, which young men haue, that their owne wisdome will yet encrease, begets in them a high esteeme of old men as thinking that they, which haue already trauelled through one

the paths of youth, are able to direct those, which are now in it. The minde of man, in this age, is wondrously ambitious of praise, and glory; impatient of disgrace; not long persisting in the same resolutions; much selfe-admiring; not able enough to choose friends, nor to resist that loathing, which may afterwards grow. But for any exploit, which by a suddaine strength, and ability of minde, may be inuented, or done, noe age of mortality is fitter, then the heate of youth. Soe, that we might iudge that the office of Childhood is to learne, and retaine by a strong memory, the deedes, & speeches of their Ancestours: of Youth, to inuent, act, and speake things altogether new; and lastly, of Middle age to moderate it selfe by obser-

uations from both the former.

The next, is the Middle age of man, equally distant from the dangerous giddyneſſe of youth, and the burden of old age: in which, the minde and body doe both ſoe flouriſh, that then onely you would thinke them to be truely men, and that all the life which man enioyes, may ſeeme to bee giuen him, for this ages ſake. The body, and minde, are both exceedingly changed from what in youth they were: as their choiſe of meates, and pleaſures, are not the ſame; ſoe, their manners, and all their deſires, are much different, and moulded (as it were anew). The minde is ſtrong, enlightned, and enlarged, (as it were from the darke miſts of youth) it begins to cenſure with much rigour,

the treſpaſſed errours of the ſame, and wonder at it ſelfe, that before, ſoe improuidently it could goe aſtray. From thence, ariſes a profitable repentance, and diligence, to repaire the ruines, which youth has made.

They are great ſeekers of wealth, and honour, and ſoe greedily labour to acquire the ornaments, and ſupporters of life, as if they thought, their life were endleſſe. Noe age is more cunning, then this Middle age, in diſſembling friendſhipp, and gouerning their affections. They then begin, to be truely valiant, moderating, not extinguiſhing that heate of courage, by which youth was raſhly carried vpon reuenge and fury. The iudgement then is ſound, and perfect, nor carried haſtily by the tor-

rent

rent of youth, nor ſuffering vn-
der the infirmities of a crazed
body. They are wary in their
vices, and loue not vertue, (for
the moſt part) without hope
of reward. But, old age by little
and little, like a tide, ouerflow-
ing this happy middle eſtate of
mans life, doth benumme his
blood, and afterward his vnder-
ſtanding. This age differingin ha
bit, affections, & manners, doth
partly encreaſe the vertues of
the former ages, and partly
make them degenerate into vi-
ces. Feare eſpecially, is the com-
panion of that age, & diſturbeth
the minde, a ſeat otherwiſe fit,
to containe wiſedome. For old
men, deſtitute of that heate of
minde, which inſpireth forti-
tude, and through many courſes
both of their owne, and other

mens dangers, hauing arriued at that age, are vsually too much perplexed, in consideration of those euills, which eyther themselues haue escaped, or others haue beene ruined by. From hence it happens, that the strength of counsell, and wisedome, the greatest endowment of old age, is often corrupted by too much feare, whilest it looketh too warily, euen into the safest things, and had rather haue wounds vnhappily concealed, then come into the venturous danger of a cure.

Happy was that delayer, who closely encamped, kept off, (as it were with a shield, or buckler) the fury of Hannibal, from the ruine of *Italy*, that Fabius, the chiefe preseruer of the Romane Empire; yet how neare

was

was it, that this Fabius, by too to fearefull, and superstitious an opinion, had auerted againe from *Rome*, her felicity, which was then returning. *Publius Scipio* had layed the proiect, of carrying the warre into *Africke*; by that meanes onely, was *Hannibal* to be remooued, and drawne out of the bowells of *Italy*, to relieue the distresse of his owne country. *Fabius Maximus* too fearefully weighing all the dangers of soe great an expedition, (when to his owne too much delaying nature, old age was added) had almost interuerted this wholesome proiect of soe braue a Generall, and in that, the safety of the Romane Empire. But this one blemish in old men, their other vertues may well excuse; especially, their wisedome in coniecturing of

things to come. Which wisedome confirmed in them, by the remembrance of times past, the lesse it is obged to the organs of the body, with the greater purity, and consulting, as it were, with heauen it selfe,) it foreseeth all things.

How many Citties, and Empires, by their wisedome, haue beene preserued; how many benefits priuate men, which haue followed the counsell of the aged, haue reaped thereby; as ancient histories haue all recorded, soe daily experience may well instruct vs. And from hence, (perhaps) proceedes, that great, and vnwearied desire of talking in old men; as if it were a spurre, giuen by Nature, for feare it should be wearisome to those men, to teach

and

and instruct, who of all others are most able to doe it.

But many of them in this matter, can seldome obserue a moderation, but in an infinite discourse (when young men apply themselues vnto them) relate all needlesse passages, and actions whatsoeuer, of their former liues; and not contented (which is most troublesome) with one vexation, as they light vpon the same young man, they will either find, or make an occasion for the same discourse; and the more patient, or shamefast the young man is, whom they haue gotten to this torture of hearing, the more cruelly they will bee sure to punish him. Nor, doe they loue onely to bee heard; but when their counsell is asked in any thing, or

they of their owne accords doe giue counsell, they are too imperious in enioyning beliefe, and prescribing euery thing, after their owne way; vrging men against their wills, and supposing themselues to bee then neglected, when they in all things are not ruled by them: the counsels and actions of youths, and men, they behold, and censure with great scorne, being placed, (as it were) in the higher seate. Doe thou therefore, (if thou wouldst truely deserue, that young men hereafter should excuse the errours of thy old age) endeauour to please them, and suffer them in an harmelesse delight, to applaud themselues. Heare them with gentlenesse, and seeme (at least with a pleased countenance) ioyfully to accept whatsoeuer

soeuer they deliuer. For what lesse reuerence can bee at any time shewed to that great age, which deserueth a fatherly respect and honour, then to seeme to like and approoue their sayings? and with a gentle obsequiousnesse (which cannot disparage vs) suffer soe venerable an age as that, to enioy a delight which is proper to it.

But the long experience of worldly affaires, which hath followed them to this age and the sad examples of other men, which haue fallen into powerty, doth commonly breede an extreame couetousnesse in old men. What a strange prodigy, or mockery of mankinde is it, at that time with greatest greedinesse to affect wealth,

when wee can neither keepe it long, nor enioy at all the delights of wealth, by reason of the decay of strength? but this mischeiuous affection is still fostered in those drie brests, and Nature decaying, is then most fearefull to fall into pouerty, when shee is least able, by reason of weakneſſe, to relieue her selfe.

But as for those old men, whose wisedome has auoyded such rockes, as before we mentioned; there are none more beneficiall to humane society, then they are: They are happy in gouernment, both of publike states, and priuate families: they can vanquish those ill affections, which transport younger minds with vnaduised fury: they can aduise young men, and forgiue their errours, not forgetting what

what themselues once were, and what then they thought: lastly, their graue wisedome has made them worthy, long to enioy that old age, and compose the affaires of the whole world with that excellent philosophy, which experience has taught them.

The

The Second Chapter.

That euery age almoſt, hath a particular Genius different from the reſt; that there is a proper Spirit to euery Region, which doth in a manner ſhape the ſtudies, and manners of the inhabitants, according to it ſelfe. That it is worth the labour, to finde out thoſe Spirits.

Greenewich is an ancient ſeat of the *Brittaine* Kings, her ſituation is by the Thames

ſide

side, foure miles from London. A hill there is, that ouertops the palace, and at a moderate distance of height, takes a faire suruey both of the towne, and riuer. You ascend to the top of it, by other little hils; vpon the summity of the high hill, is a flat of great circuit. In a morning, by chance I ascended thither; noe man was neere me, to disturbe the recreation of my thoughts, which wandred about with delicious freedome. But the wonderfull pleasure of the place had almost sooner rauished my minde, then filled mine eyes, with the fayrest prospect, not onely in Brittaine, (but it may bee) in all Europe. A spatious plaine commanding from aboue the lesser hills,

and

and thoſe hills enuironing round that lofty plaine, did neither ſuddenly debarre the proſpect, nor ſuffer the ſight to bee too much diſperſed through the emptie aire; the riuer Thames filling the adioyning fields with a moſt pleaſant fruitfullneſſe: and at the foote of the hill, the waues returning in manner of a ring, haue almoſt made an Iland of it. All along the channell, were ſhips of all kindes, both for warre and traffique; thoſe, that were neare, I might wholy diſcerne; thoſe that were farther off, or partly hidden, by interpoſition of riſing bankes, appeared to mine eyes by their maſts, and ſaile yards, like a naked wood in the winter time.

The whole coaſt is moſt ſweetly verdant, and the profit of

of pasture has exempted it from tillage ; nor hardly, is there ground any where more abundantly fruitfull for grazing of cattell. The lands of priuate men, after the manner of their country, were fenced with ditches, whose bankes were adorned with rowes of trees: especially the high waies one each side were planted with poplars, that the whole valleys to him, that surueyed them, from the top of the hill, appeared like continued gardens, and walkes of pleasure. But the greatest delight is, that soe faire a verdancy is almost distinguished into diuerse colours ; the places, which are fartheſt distant, shadowed by the face of the skie, doe seeme of an azure hewe ; those which are nearer, and ful-

ler

ler of trees more thick-leaued are of darker colour; the graſſe on the ground preſenting a thinner, but brighter greene: but the moſt beautifull obiect, is London it ſelfe, eſteemed among the faireſt of the Cities of Europe, a City of innumerable houſes, yet ſcarcely able to containe her people. For at the other ſide of the Riuer Thames, it is farre extended, and adioyneth it ſelfe to the neighbouring townes, ſoe that the buildings are continued for foure miles together. In all this ſpace, not onely priuate houſes, but faire Churches of perſpicuous height doe euery where diſplay their beauty; and the middle of the City, (like the ſwelling or boſſe of a buckler) is raiſed by the ſtructure of their greateſt

Temple

Temple.

Whileſt I was carryed away with this ſuddaine delight, I began to recall my minde, and thus to conſider with my ſelfe. What ſhould it bee, that thus vnawares had rauiſhed mee? why ſhould this proſpect ſoe wonderfully pleaſe? what hidden force, or reaſon, had thus wrought vpon my minde? was it the City of London? the courſe of the riuer? the mountaines? or the proſpect of the fields, and woods? None of all theſe; but ſoe faire a variety, and the induſtry (as it were) of Nature, diſplaying her riches.

I began then to thinke with my ſelfe, that there was nothing in the world ſoe exactly beautifull, but at laſt would glut, and

and weary the beholder, vnleſſe after that manner (as this place was) it were beautified with contrarieties, and change of endowments, to refreſh continualy the wearied beholder with vnexpected nouelties. And, becauſe the world was to bee framed in perfection of beauty, Nature was not forgetfull of ſoe great an art. Some countries ſhee hath lifted to the tops of mountaines: others, ſhee hath thruſt downe into the valleys: Some, ſhe hath ſcorched with immoderate heat, others, ſhee condemneth to extremity of winter; the reſidue, ſhee ordained (though not equally) temperate.

All lands are not fruitfull, nor all barren: nor doe either continue ſoe at all times. Some coun-

countries, that heretofore were rich, are now deformed, and couered ouer with barren sands: others, that of old, were miserably barren are now growne into that abundant fertility, as to afford meanes, not onely for life, but for ryot and excesse. Soe that in the beauty of the whole world, the parts are often transformed into manifold habits, and different appearances. Nor haue the starres, though they alwayes keepe their constant motions, the same influences vpon inferiour bodyes, nor breede in the aire the same effects: and therefore, though all yeares doe in equall spaces finish their circuits, yet does noe yeare altogether imitate that that went before, nor is the exact rule of the following yeare.

But

But man created after the image of the deity, and for whose sake especially, all other ornaments of the world were framed, is the greatest instance of this beauty of variety. For men haue not onely in their bodies a difference of habits, and proportions; but their mindes are fitted for soe many things, that noe picture can with more colours, or lineaments delight the eye of the beholder, then are drawne by the fates, in the mindes of men. What orders, or rankes of vertues and vices? what excellencies of Artes? what subtleties of wit has not Nature stored vp in this Magazen of wisedome? but there is noe diuersity, which is more worthy of wonder, then this, that men borne to liberty (for how

how could they elſe gouerne themſelues, and by their owne endeauours, deſerue praiſe, or infamous puniſhment) ſhould alſo ſerue; their owne diſpoſitions, the fate of the times, wherein they liue, forcing them as it were, into certaine affections, and rules of liuing. For euery age of the world has a certaine Genius, which ouerruleth the mindes of men, and turneth them to ſome deſires: Some ages breath nothing, but martiall diſcipline; & within few yeares, all are againe compoſed to peace, and quietneſſe; Sometimes common-wealths, and ſometimes Monarchies are affected by the people. Some Nations, that ſeemed (as it were) to bee borne to barbariſme, in proceſſe of time, are brought to

per-

perfect ciuility : and in some few ages, are peruerted againe to their old barbarisme. Soe the world in generall, did oft flourish with great abilities, and after a while, industrie slackening, hath beene couered, (as it were) with a cloud, and lost. When the affaires of Greece did flourish, what ciuility, what wit, or subtilty, was wanting to that Nation? Soe great was the skill of their handycraftes men, that their carued statues of men, and beasts, did seeme almost to liue: soe fluent their oratory, soe sweete their poetry, that euen the ambition of *Rome* proposed them to her sons, onely to imitate, not to excel. But fortune remooving afterward to other Nations, noe people, more then the Græcians, did sorrow-

sorrowfully sigh at the mention of their ancestors, from whose ability they were then fallen.

But if wee obserue the turnings of the Romane Empire, and the passages of times nearer vnto vs, wee shall more certainely discouer the changeable Geniuses of the ages. Vnder *Augustus*, *Rome* in peace had adorned her greatnesse, with all the dresses of true humanity: and among other things, her language was then in the height of purity. By small things wee may guesse at the greater. From whence proceeded soe many Poets of happy raptures, and numerous straines in those times, but from some certaine Spirit, which then inspired them? which had neuer before beene propitious to Italian Poets, and

after-

afterwards againe forsooke them. Those few yeares, from *Nero* to *Traian*, had many Poets, and many that laboured in the study of Rhetorike; in whom the declining of the Romane language did plainely appeare; instead of the natiue beauty, and maiesty of it, which was then lost, they vsed obscure, and swelling heights, with forced sentences instead of naturall. At the same time, in the reigne of *Nero*, that peace was broken, which had long setled the Romane *Empire*, and all the world was filled with combustion; nothing, but warre was in the mindes of all men, in *France*, in *Germany*, and the vttermost parts of the Easterne world. From whence proceeded it, but from a certaine force, which I may almost call fate,

swaying the hearts of men to those endes, that are ordained for them? in the age that followed, the elegance of language was wonderfully lost; and because the souldiers had all power, the manners of the people were turned backe to their old ferity. Yet humanity stroue against those mischiefes, vntill forreyne Nations inuaded the Empire; and what of all things was most miserable, noe memory almost was left of the lost sciences; those that were borne in these times, seemed to bee borne, though not to a fierce, yet a blind barbarisme; and most of their ancestors, whose writings contained morality, or history, while their bookes by the negligence of posterity were lost did dy a second & a worse death.

The other Arts were taugh
in more rude and vnpoliſh'
waies, or elſe were altogethe
lo.t. Not long after, men wer
againe growne to the loue o
learning; but ſuch was the vn
happyneſſe of the times, tha
bredd them, that they migh
ſeeke learning, but not attain
it; if wee call that learning
which is the knowledge of an
tiquity, and iudgement, not one
ly in the ſchoole-ſubtilties, bu
in the higheſt and nobleſt things
and laſtly, ſuch a kind of inſtru
ction and literature, as our an
ceſtors did honour in men o
their time.

There was notwithſtanding
a kinde of learning then vſed, a
greeable to the diſpoſitions o
thoſe times: as with great diſ
putation, and eager cauilling (in
ſtead

stead of explayning) Philosophy and Diuinity, to perplexe them more: in the Law, to extend the sentences of wise men, the decrees of Emperours, and ordinances of Popes, into mad and immethodicall volumes, to the eternall vexation of the student: but most of them had gotten this way of writing, that what argument soeuer they made choyce of, they deliuered to their readers, as their owne, the words and sentences of former authors concerning that subiect. Soe the errour of one, was oftentimes as a slippery place for others to fall; and many from the right opinion of one man, did borrow wisedome.

And what titles soeuer they gaue their bookes, they thought it not indecent to digresse into

neuer ſoe generall diſcourſes. What hiſtories written in thoſe times, did not begin at the creation of the world? what part of humane affaires, as oft as it was written by thoſe rude wits, was not drawne into a ſtraange confuſion? and that you may perceiue, that thoſe men were not wanting to Nature, but Nature herſelfe was ſtraightned and ſick, they were very induſtrious, and wanted not the ſignes of ſincere wiſedome, in handling thoſe parts of ſcience, which onely were allowed by fortune vnto that age. Which was in the Philoſophers, a ſubtile way of diſputing; in the Lawyers, a skill rather to know the intent of the law then to diſtinguiſh of the times, of the force of formes, and the cauſes of factions

ons.

Last of all, in this age, that darke mist is vanished away from the mindes of men, which are now composed to all kinde of light and subtlety,

Nor is this change onely to bee obserued in the schooles of learning, the affaires of Kingdomes and commonwealths are more cunningly administred; warrs offensiue, and defensiue, are made with more skill, and dexterity; and soe great a curiosity in many trades, that whatsoeuer is rude and vnpolished now, we vse with scorne to censure it, as made, or likely to bee made in the dull times of our ancestors.

Nor can this change proceede from any thing but the Genius

as it were of this age. Whose excellency, when after an appointed time it shall expire, will giue vp the world, as it may be feared, vnto another, and ruder Genius; and after the expiration of certaine yeares, returne againe. See that wee may distinguish the difference of the ages, not more perfectly by the motions of the starrs, then by the deflexion of mankinde into diuers dispositions, and abilities.

But there is another force, that rauisheth away the mindes of men, and maketh them addicted to certaine affections. Namely, that spirit which being appropriate to euery region, infuseth into men, as soone as they are borne, the habit, and affections of their owne coun-

try.

try. For, as the same meates according to the various manners of dressing, may bee changed in taste, but the inward quality of nourishing, or hurting, can by noe qualification be altogether lost: soe in euery Nation, amorg all the tides of succeeding ages, which alter the manners and mindes of men, one certaine quality remaines neuer to bee shaken off, which the fates haue distibruted to euery man, according to the condition of the place, wherein hee was borne. From hence come those ancient vices, which still endure, as proper to the climate, which in histories haue commended or branded whole Nations: as heere, the people are naturally light, vnconstant, and wauering in their resolutions: there, the

groſſer and grauer mindes, are naturally ſwelled with a melancholy pride, vnder the ſhew of hidden wiſedome. Some Nations endure not thirſt : Some people with extemporary wits, are able to encounter any ſuddaine alteration, or vnexpected buſineſſe. Some Nations are implacable in deſire of reuenge : Some, as it were by right of inheritance, enioy a perpetuity of the higheſt vertues : Some people are naturally plaine-dealing, others ſubtil, and many valiant. And ſeeing that nothing is more beneficiall, then from the Genius of diuerſe Nations to be ſoe enformed, as to know how to behaue our ſelues in different countries, and what from euery place to expect or feare; it will be worth our labour, to define

here

here the especiall manners of some Nations, that from the common disposition of many men, we may finde out the priuate in particular persons. Nor will there be found soe superstitious a louer of the place of his birth, but will bee contented to heare some vices named in the character of his owne country. For if Nature did neuer forme any mortall man of such accomplished abilities, but that something in him, as the last hand of the workeman, was still wanting: what pride were it in any man to exempt whole prouinces from this publike fate? and disdaine to bee borne in such a place, as is subiect to errours, that is among mankinde? farre hence bee all willfull partiality to our owne,

and enuious detraction from other countries. Let vs sincerely acknowledge our owne vices, and bee truely delighted with the contemplation of vertue in others.

Therefore before that with a serious and sequestred contemplation, wee begin to consider the dispositions of people, let vs survey the world, as from a tower, and looke who now are the inhabitants and masters of it. *Asia*, and *Affrica* swallowed vp by the power of *Barbarians*, and the great calamity of *Greece*, and *Thrace*, haue thrust, and confined ciuill humanity to these vtermost parts of Europe; that we, soe often oppressed by the fierce *Barbarians*, and guelded, as it were, of our richest countries, might learne truely

to

to account our owne strength, or feare the strength of others. But we insensible of these euils, and oppressed with a deadly and pestilent slumber, haue neither feared the hand of heauen; nor combined the strength of those prouinces, which are yet left vs, against the cruell threatnings of those barbarous Nations. But on the contrary, haue most impiously wasted, by factions and quarrels, our owne strength, and by hatred diuided that, which though combined into one body, had beene scarce of sufficient strength. But at the last, the flame of these combustions eyther quite expiring, or pernicious peace settled a while for worse intentions, a cessation of armes gaue mutuall traffique to all these Nations, which as they

dis-

differed in dispositions and language, soe could they not bee guided by the same arts. These were the *French*, *Brittaines*, *Italians*, and *Spaniards*, and all that mighty people comprehended vnder the name of *Germany*. The reliques also of *Pannonia*, and as much of *Illyrium* and *Dalmatia*, as is now left vs: those *Sarmatians* and *Scythians*, which are now called *Polonians* and *Moscouites*: the *Cimbrians* also, and what euer is contained within the dominions of *Denmarke* and *Swethland*; nor are we soe farre (oh misery) remooued from the *Turkes*, but that wee haue occasion to acquaint our selues with their dispositions and manner of liuing.

In the manners of these people, we may consider the riches

of

of Nature, with a delicious and profitable meditation, which in a mixture, resembling the members of a body, hath involued the habits and affections of soe many different minds. But to examine all other climats with the same diligence, were more for the curiosity of pleasure, then the profitable vse of commerce or conuersation. For who but Merchants goe into *Affrick*, and there vpon the shore, or by chance, by riuer, some what farther into the country, doe traffique suddenly, or make bargaines of noe great trust or friendship. The *Persians* not onely by impiety or superstition, but a great distance of sea and land, are diuided from vs; *India* in like manner is visited by none but Merchants, and Sailers, except

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the *Lucanians* who frequent those places and there settle their plantations; the people of *China* doe abhorre all fellowship with forreyne Nations. Nor doe any of our people desire at all to commerce with that sordid, and (for the most part) miserable Nation of the *Tartars*. *America*, as farre as it is ciuillized at all, is possessed by the Spaniard onely; soe that none other besides themselues, may with safety commerce, or traffique there. It is therefore expedient, or indeed lawfull, for none but the Spaniard, to know the dispositions of those people. But those parts of *America* where naked barbarisme, abhorred by mankinde, is vsed by the wild people, whom noe lawes nor industrie had tempe-

red

red ; haue beene diligently obſerued by ſome of our men, who in hope of gaine haue gone thither.

The Natures of thoſe rude people are incapable of our ciuility. They account all ſtrangers, that arriue on their coaſts, as enemyes, & enſnarers of their liberty; neither are thoſe ignorant and ſauage mindes deſtitute of ſubtlity to impious acts; cruelty & treachery, inſtead of prudence and true fortitude, they often excerciſe.

What profit will it bee, to examine farther the manners of theſe people, who by a barbarous wildenes haue ſeemed, as it were, to forſake Nature? eſpecially, ſeeing they containe themſelues within their owne ſhores, and admit noe forreiners vn-

vnlesse vpon compulsion, or some slight occasion of sad daine traffique.

But to leaue those Nations, which are eyther vnknowne to us, or by too great a distance of sea, and land, too farre diuided from our acquaintance; to examine the inhabitants and Genivs of our owne world; the habit of each country, the condition of the soyle, the temper of the aire, or distemper in eyther kinde, will not be improper to our present discourse.

The

The Third Chapter.

FRANCE.

Gallia, according to the ancient bounds, the greatest almost of all the Prouinces in Europe, (a terrour heretofore to the Romane Empire, and renowned by victories against *Greece*, and *Asia*) is now distinguished into diuerse Kingdomes, and different manners. Whatsoeuer is bounded within the *Rhene*, the *Ocean*, the *Alpes*, and *Pyrenaan* mountaines, was once comprised vnder the name of *Gallia*. It extended moreouer, from the farther side of the *Alpes*, to the riuer *Rubicon*, and lay heauy vpon the Romane territories. For the *Gaules* a valiant Nation, inuading *Italy*, sacking

sacking and firing the City of *Rome*, were soe great a terror to the Romane Senate, that a decree was made, that as often as the Gaules were vp in armes, not the Priests, nor old men, should bee exempted from the duties of warre. It was afterward subdued by the power of *Rome*, but then when in it selfe it was diuided by domesticke factions, nor did they euer, wholly vnited, eyther know perfectly their owne strength, or make tryall of it against *Italy*. In processe of time, a people out of the midd'st of *Germany*, called *Franks*, or French men, inuaded *Gallia*, and seemed to reduce it to a second bondage. But when they were conquerours, they mixed themselues with the conquered Nation, and seemed not

soe

soemuch to haue subdued the Gaules, as the Romans which possessed *Gallia*. The country then being diuided among many Princes; that part onely retained the old name, which was possessed by the French; a Nation of great vertue, and renowned in deedes, and well deseruing, that Historians to their praise, should make vse of the vanity of that common fable, to stile them the reliques of the City of *Troy*.

This Realme of *France*, the faireſt and richeſt of all Prouinces in the Westerne world, seemeth within it selfe at happy æmulation betwixt the Genius and disposition of the inhabitants, and the riches and temper of the Land it selfe.

The country aboundeth euery whe e

where with corne and wine ; fertile in oyle, and all fruits, which brooke not a raw ayre. Especially, that part which is more Westerly: or lyeth neerer to the *Alpes*, or *Ligurian* seas. There is noe land in the whole world, for the extent of it, that enricheth the inhabitants with more blessings. It aboundeth soe much with all kinde of wealth, that it vses to traffique with forreyne Nations, for nothing almost, but pleasure onely. For nothing but ryot in this wealthy people, did set an high price vpon the silkes of *Italy*, and the cunning workmanships of the *German* Nation. But their traffique with *Brittaine*, doth bring them Merchandise, if not altogether necessary, yet certainely of great profit ; which affordeth them

them both for vſe, and ornament, great abundance of Lead, Tinne, and Saffron. But *France*, beſide her corne, wherewith ſhe relieueth the barrenneſſe of *Spaine*, and wines, which ſhee ſendeth into the neighbouring and colder countries, is rich alſo in hempe and flaxe, whereby ſhe ſupplyeth the want of ſailes, cordage, and ſuch tackling neceſſary for ſhipping in many Nations. By which merchandiſe great plenty of gold is daily brought into that country, though the ground afford noe mines of it; and thoſe Nations, which with painefull diligence digge it out of the bowells of the earth, and with care tranſport it from the fartheſt regions, doe ſeeme but ſeruants to labour for the

the felicity of *France*.

In soe large a country, composed of soe many and soe great prouinces, noe one part is barren, or neglected of Natu[illegible] but all enriched by her great fauour. For those vast parts of *Aquitaine*, which may seeme vnfruitfull, are neither void of inhabitants, nor vnpleasant vnto them; that coũtry is stored with wood enriched with fruits of high price, and abounding with plenty of daintie fowle: that whatsoeuer it wants in fruitfullnesse of soyle, which is there sandy, as much it is indebted to the temper of the ayre.

France is begirted at one side by the *Ocean*, at the other by the *Mediterranean Sea*, which floweth from the coasts of *Spaine*, and *Affrick* as farre as

Ægypt.

Ægypt. A ſituation ſoe commodious for ſea-traffique, that it may ſend out fleetes into any ſea of note, and arriue at any ſhore, if the Frenchmen could delight as well in ſailing, as in horſemanſhip, and entertaine laſting proiects, as well as ſuddaine ones.

The people in generall, are louers of their Prince, and very obedient; their King does truely raigne, and they account it a crime to queſtion the greatneſſe of his prerogatiue. They are able in feates of warre, eſpecially the horſemen; free from perfidiouſneſſe, eſpecially in publike counſells; of an vncurbed ſtrength within themſelues but when they inuade a forreyne Nation, their heate and fury is quickly forgotten: by

that

that meanes they poſſeſſe not long any forreyne conqueſt, and are onely powerful to their own deſtruction. They haue conquered heretofore by often victories, *Lombardy*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, and many other prouinces in the world; but within a while, they haue too ſecurely contemned their enemies not wholly ſubdued; or out of an inconſiderate, and open diſpoſition, too much truſted to their counterfeit obedience; or elſe they haue vſed their victory with too great a licence, and more wantonly inſulted then the nature of thoſe Nations was able to ſuffer; or laſt of all, to forget the warrs, and thinke of their owne country, whoſe abſence they are not long able to endure. By theſe vices, they haue become a prey

to

to those Nations ouer whom they haue triumphed, and their warres, which haue begun prosperously, haue oft ended in dishonour, and losse.

Noe men in the world haue a Nature more fitted for manly behauiour. A bold countenance, gesture, and motion, becomming the whole body. And this comely garbe is an ornament to the vertue of braue men; but to weake soules it serues but as a vizor, or naturall couerture to hide, or qualify their abiect mindes. soe elegant and gracefull is their carriage, that what fashion of attire soeuer (among all their infinite variety of fashions) they are pleased to take, or what posture of body in their salutations, you will still thinke that nothing could become thē better.

But their neighbouring N
tions deceiued with a ridiculou
errour, and hoping to attai
the behauiour of the *French*, b
a vaine imitation of their ap
parrell, and garbes of crindging
not-knowing that in geſtures
grace, euery thing by the ſam
Genius, is made pleaſing i
ſome men; but in others whos
Nature hath not enriched wit
thoſe changeable habit, sa ſtudi
ous imitation of ſuchdeleſta
ble garbes is not onely vnplea
ſing, but moſt ridiculous.

For vertues and vices, and wha
euer motions are bred in the in
nermoſt lodgings of the ſoule
may eaſily be counterfeited, for
theſe affections are ſoe cloſely
hidden, and farre from the ſight,
that noe man can diſcouer whi
ther they be true or not. Soe we

may

may easily dissemble humility, hatred, loue, or piety. But those things, which are not onely done by the gouernement of the minde, but by custome, and the outward hability and fitnesse of the body, thou canst neuer counterfeit, when Nature doth striue against it. As a comely posture, and carriage of the body, a facility in iesting, a grace in speaking, are things not begotten in the inner, but the outward man. But these things being most eminent in the *French* behauiour, can neuer be attained, nor imitated by thee, vnlesse thy Genius of his owne accord haue disposed thee for that way.

But the world can neuer bee sufficiently thankefull to the hospitality of *France*, which

seemeth to open a temple of h
manity, or sanctuary for r
fortunes of all forreyners to fl
vnto. They consider not th
country, but the worth of a ma
and make not a stranger, d
new-dweller among them (ac
cording to the errour of othe
Nations) to suffer for the plac
of birth, which chance allotte
him: soe with a simple and fre
loue of vertue, they admire ex
cellent men (what countrymen
soeuer) without any enuy, and
are glad to see them thriue in the
riches of *France*. And for the
reward of this humanity, they
looke noe further then to pub-
like praise in the first place; se-
condly, to the fortune and fame
of soe many strangers, who by
noe vnworthy, nor vnprofita-
ble adoption, are incorporated
into

to the French State. Nor neede
nole strangers to put of the
shions of their owne country,
d imitate the garbe of *France*,
e their carriage bee free from
ride or barbaritme. For the ve-
y profession of a forreine fashi-
n will moove the desires of
hat curious Nation, who with
nore simplicity admire for-
eine then their owne customes;
nsomuch as that some vices of
ife, and blemishes of body, haue
eene there in esteeme, if
rought from another country.
For wee haue seene the elo-
quence of a forreiner, euen for
the often errours of his tongue,
hath beene more pleasing; and
gained a great opinion of wise-
dome, because they were not
vnderstood.

The common people are truely respectiue of the gentry, not out of feare, or institution onely, and againe, their greatest nobility are by the same Genius honour'd by inferiour Gentlemen; but pride, or disdaine, they cannot brooke; if thou wouldst seeme to domineere, they are ashamed to serue. A curteous behauiour, which by artificiall countenances, and gentle glances is expressed vnto them, or by familiarity of discourse with them, will gaine to the Princes more officious seruants, then the greatnesse of their power and dignity can doe. All wealth, and life it selfe is of lesse esteeme among them, then honour; especially, the Spirits of their great Princes doe often flye out, both to their owne

wne damage, and their coun-
ries affliction, becauſe the very
xperience, and ſenſe of pouer-
y it ſelfe, can perſwade none of
hem to vndertake Merchan-
liſe, or any profitable courſe of
rade. They are pleaſed with a
prepoſterous ambition, to æmu-
late the greatneſſe of their an-
ceſtors, and conceiue it a diſ-
paragement to noble blood, to
liue in a calling like the common
people. Soe the vaine name of
Nobility, and fooliſh oſtenta-
tation of magnificent idleneſſe,
doth arme them with patience
againſt the burthen of their
cares, which doe neuer leaue
them before their death. This
loftyneſſe of minde, although
it pleaſe themſelues, and ſeeme
to bee farre from all baſeneſſe,
is often corrupted by almoſt

neceſſary wickedneſſe, and raiſes in their poore fortunes a turbulent induſtry, eyther by ſecret villanies, or publike commotions to ſtriue to repell the contempt of pouerty.

Merchandiſe is baſelier eſteemed of there, then befits a thing of ſoe great vtility, and which firſt did ſpread humanity through all the world. *Solon* the famous *Athenian* Lawmaker, and moſt of the *Græcians*, which were famed to our eares, tranſported their commodities by ſuch traffique into forreine countries, and acquainted their countrymen likewiſe with the riches of other lands.

Nor doth *Italy* diſdaine that cuſtome, where the Nobleſt families by induſtrie in merchandiſe, doe heape vp wealth. *Brittany*

tany likewise accounteth not her blood of Gentry any way debased by such a calling.

But in *France*, not onely the ancient Gentry doe altogether disdaine this way of thriuing, but the merchants themselues, as if ashamed of their calling, when they are growne rich, doe bring vp their sonnes in some other discipline, enioyning them, as it were, to looke higher then their fathers did.

But the high mindes of the *French* Nation are in nothing more perfectly discerned, then the eager pursuite of Magistracies, where the shamefull sale of them doth exclude the needy, how vertuous soeuer.

To vndoe their families, to consume their estates and credits too, is not thought vnfit, to purchase an eminency aboue their equals, and repaire the ruines of their patrimony, eyther by a bare dignity, or by corruption and bribery in their offices. Nor is there any doubt, but that strange itch after titles and places, vnlesse of it selfe it doe abate, will at last defile all offices, gouernements, and iudgment-seates, with men of the baselt blood, and loweſt dispositions. For many from the baseſt trades, doe sooner arriue at great riches, then those who are noted of ancient Nobility, and liue according to the dignity of their birth. By this meanes of money onely, whileſt they contend about the purchase

chaſe of a gouernement, or place of iuſtice, they doe moſt often carry it away, which are of baſeſt blood, and leaſt ability in vnderſtanding. Beſides, the gentlemen of good deſcent are not ſoe forward to throw away their eſtates vpon ſuch dignities, as vpſtarts are, who are haſty with gold, to bring their children out of obſcurity, & buy for their families that ſplendour of Nobility, which the ancient gentlemen, without any coſt, doe challenge as a part of their inheritance.

Soe by little and little, theſe honours may grow to bee onely in the poſſeſſion of the baſeſt men, and (being onely bought for money) by reaſon of their names, bee cenſured as a token of ignobility. Neither is the policy

licy of the royall exchequer to bee much accused, although it encrease by the money of such officers. For who would not thinke it farre fitter, that those dignities should at a set rate be sold by the Prince, who vndergoes the burden of the State in generall, then secretly to bee made a prey to the couetousnesse of the Noblemen, who doe oftentimes thrust officers vpon the King, whom they haue beene bribed to commend, and what they freely obtaine from their master, they sell againe vnto others? Soe that the commonwealth can haue noe better choice of Magistrates by that meanes; and it is indifferent to those ambitious purchasers whither they suffer for their ambition from the King, or from

from Noblemen; since both waies tend equally to the ruine of their estates.

These things therefore hauing beene first instituted vpon reasonable grounds, are now growne into extremity, by the madnesse of the buyers, who doe now exclude all vertue of but reasonable wealth, and at the rate of their whole estates purchase those dignities, whose price their owne madnesse has soe much enhaunsed.

But as wines, the more generous they will afterward grow, the more thicke of lees they will bee when they are young; soe the young men of this Nation, made for humanity, and wisedome in old age, are

are carryed away with the greateſt raſhneſſe, and wildneſſe of behauiour. The young men are giuen to a ſtrange freedome of bold ieſting, and prouoking, both ſtrangers, and their owne acquaintance, and euery where affecting titles of too great ſecurity. Vnconſtant mindes, and eaſily carryed away with any rumors; ſometimes impatient of idleneſſe, ſometimes of buſineſſe; a fooliſh oſtentation and bragging of their luſts, more then by Nature they are enclined to; inconſiderate, and vndiſcreete ſcoffings, which ſpare none. Their ſtirring, and hot affections impatient of reſt, breake out into various and troubleſome motions. But ſome of them in the beginning of all buſineſſes, doe put on a fained

ned noe true wisedome, and therefore expressed with the greater shew: as if they were tempered with mature iudgement, they put on a stay'd countenance, expressing subtlety ioyned with humanity, and vtter their words with long deliberation. To which according to the Nature of it, they haue found out a name, calling it frigidity.

But that counterfeiting of vertue, is then altogether vnpleasing, nor long can their cunning hide that leuity, which will shew it selfe in spite of all disguises. But the middle disposition betweene these two, which is not wanting in that Nation of the French, flowing with cheerfullnesse and capaciousnesse of minde, not bridled

too

too much with a fained grauity; is a disposition of transcendent excellency, and exactly framed to the image of wisdome ioined with alacrity.

But one thing in the Natures of the French is very vnhappy, that that loue and curtesie, which in their owne countries they expresse euen to strangers; abroad they will hardly shew to their owne countrymen. Who would beleeue, that people of soe great humanity, should not agree together in a forreine Land, Birds brought together into one cage forbeare to fight with each other; and beasts which wander out of the woods together to seeke prey, by the fellowship of their fate are con-

tinued

in loue and amity. Onely the Frenchmen, when they conuerse in another land, especially if they bee poore, and seeke relieſe by the ſeruice of a forreine State, doe quarrell among themselues with a moſt cruell æmulation.

How many ſecret ſcoffes, vnſeemely enuies, profeſſed quarrels, and ridiculous contentions, citing each other before forreyne Magiſtrates, doe ariſe among them? contending in this manner among themſelues, they caſt an infamous aſperſion vpon their Nation, as if they were a people borne to enuy, incapable of quiet, or of that loue, wherewith Nature hath ſecretly combined the Citizens of one country.

This

This fault of the Frenchmen in forreyne countries is more cruelly raging in the bowels of their owne land; where in all places, like swordplayers condemned to the theater, vpon suddaine and rash quarrels, they violently hazard their liues in single duells. A most horrid thing! a miserable opprobry of these times! a slight quarrell, arising onely out of ambition of argument, or an innocent iest, or oftentimes onely a thirst of fame in turbulent dispositions doth hurry with violence the mad young men into most miserable slaughters, and vtter extinguishing of Noble families. From hence, soe often are the purposes of miserable parents intercepted, and their hopes vtterly lost; and peace almost in

vaine

vaine eſtabliſhed in *France*; as much Noble blood ſhed (well nigh) in theſe priuate combates, as in time of a publike warre. What madneſſe is this? after the manner of beaſts, not with reaſon, but choller, to reuenge their iniuries, and put the iudgement of their greateſt matters vpon the tryall of a ſtage art and fortune, which often deceiues the skilfuleſt in that art? that whoſoeuer can moſt fortunately fight, ſhould make himſelfe the iuſteſt quarrell? wilde Nations, which came among vs from barbariſme it ſelfe, did not long agoe infect the world with their brutiſh manners. They were the firſt beginners of a cuſtom, that vpon doubtfull titles of eſtate, where the proofes were obſcure on both ſides, the cauſe

cauſe by a combate ſhould bee decided. The combatants did meete in an open Circk, or ſtage, and hee that was vanquiſhed, was iudged to haue the worſe cauſe. From thence the originall of this madneſſe proceeded, which doth now infeſt the age, and going beyond the firſt bounds, as then it was onely at the diſpoſing of the Magiſtrate, it now rageth licentiouſly according to the humors and chollers of priuate men.

But the pretence for this ſword-play, whither more accepted for the ſhow, or profit of it, is the furtherance of skill in fighting. For who can deny, that a skillfull art of ſtriking with the ſword, or auoiding the blowes, which were aimed at him, is a thing appertaining to the

military art? this the *Grecians*, the *Romanes*, and euery Nation hardy in armes, haue fought after, with great intention.

But now they fight, not as enclosed and straightned in the presse of an army (as warrs are made) but as it were in the freedome of an open theater; they trauerse their ground, they shift their bodies with all agility, and by false proffers of the hand, and glances of the eye, they deceiue each other, and doe rather (as euery man may see) enable their murderous cruelty vpon priuate hatreds, then instruct themselues in a pious valour for defence of their country, and now their rage, euen betweene friends and kindred, fulfilleth the height of

mad-

madnesse and all impiety. Kinsmen and most familiar acquaintance vpon noe heinous iniuries but vaine exceptions at idle wordes, or almost for nothing, are engaged in quarels and embrued in each others blood: and which you may iustly censur the highest degree of madnesse, they fight, not onely vpon their owne iniuries, but wickedly enterpose themselues into the quarels of others, and engaged in hatreds, which belong not vnto them, they sacrifice themselues, and the deerest of their friends. For they freely goe, when by those men, which are to fight, and are loth to die alone, they are inuited to this mortall play as it were to a supper or recreation; and there doe not doubt to violate whatsoeuer should bee

be neere and deare to man ; out of a moſt fooliſh deſire of fame, that they may bee ſayd with a great contempt of life to haue gon into the field ; that is, to haue vndertaken a moſt horrid cruelty, out of a barbarous ignorance of true valour.

But theſe euils, and whatſoeuer elſe haue crept into the diſpoſitions of the French, may be well excuſed, for the vertues of thoſe men whom the maturity of age, or weight of iudgement doth ſoe temper, as that they are not carryed away with their country-vices. There is in them a wonderfull curteſie, not feigned, nor trecherous, to enſnare them whom they court with friendſhip ; they are free from deceit, and ſecret hatreds ; they are free to entertaine all, who deſire

desire their acquaintance, and society; and respective of all men according to their degrees and rankes.

It is enough for a forreiner, which is admitted into their company, to preserue their friendship, if he keepe himselfe from open villany, and too absurd folly; soe that in other places thou had'st neede haue a care of other mens dispositions, least they hurt thee: but among true, and accomplished Frenchmen, to keepe thy selfe from giuing offence. Nor is their any thing more happy in humane society, then the manly sweetnesse of such compleat company.

The

The Fourth Chapter.

BRITTAINE.

THe greatneſſe of *Brittaine* (though it bee an Iſland of large extent, and expoſed to many and different ſeas) may be rather eſteemed by the ſeuerall and vnlike manners of her inhabitants, then by the names and harbours of ſoe many ſhores: As if in the *Ocean Brittaine* alone were another world all kinde of diſpoſitions are to bee found in her inhabitants.

There is not a fayrer Iſland in the whole world. *Sicily*, *Crete*, and *Cyprus*, though they haue all carryed the ſtate, and names of Kingdomes,

if they were all ioyned into one body. were not able, eyther in circuit, or wealth, to equall *Brittaine*. Being in former times a valiant Nation, they gaue occasion of many fabulous stories, which by forreyne wits, and languages were commonly written and read; as if nothing could be fained soe strange, but might be atchieued by the people of *Brittaine*: it was once diuided into nine Kingdomes. But afterward by continuall warrs, and frequent leagues, those Monarchies, and their bounds were often changed; vntill at the last, the whole Island became subiect to three Princes. The colonyes of *Saxony* whom we call English, are gathered together vnder the felicity of one scepter: the reliques

of

of the old *Brittaines*, which constantly cleaue to the *Cambrian* Mountaines, and are called *Welshmen*: Thirdly, the *Scots*, inhabiting the North part of the Island, to whom a remnant of the *Picts*, who were almost rooted out, haue ioyned themselues. But *Wales* in a short time vnable in warre to resist the strength of all *England*, was ioyned to that scepter. The *Scots* though despairing euer to bee able to conquer *England*, yet disdaining to yeeld vnto it, as an argument of lasting æmulation, contended with the English, not more stiffely by warre, then by a different and auerse Nature from them: vntill the fates condemning at last this pernicious æmulation, conioyned them both vnder one King, by whose

ſpirit, as it were, the whole Iſland is now vnited in one body.

England abounding in rich paſtures, and ground fruitfull in procreation of diuerſe, and different trees, doth euery where delight the eyes of the beholders with a moſt beautifull verdancy: the eaſie and free encreaſe of fruite doth nouriſh the ſloth of the common people. The fertile, and fat grounds doe euery where yeild ſuch abundance of paſture for horſes, and bullocks, as ſufficeth the perpetuall greedineſſe of thoſe beaſts: in other places, where the ground is dryer, and clothed with ſhort graſſe, it feedeth innumerable flockes of ſheepe, excuſing the barrenneſſe of the ſoile with an incredible

dible profit, which is made of woolł; not the ſharpnes of winter (vnleſſe perchance it proone harder then vſuall) doth driue their cattell, which are euer accuſtomed to the open ayre, into ſtalls or houſes. They are vſually contented with open ſleepes in the cold fields, and ſuch paſture as the moderate warmth of the winter doth nouriſh. For the winters are not there ſo ſharpe as the climate, and neerenesſe of the North would make vs imagine, when in *France* where it is neerely oppoſite to the coaſt of *Brittaine*, the winters are extreme, and much more rigid in the ayre of *Holland*.

In ſo great an indulgence and fauour of the ayre, the grounds of *Brittaine* doe with great eaſe receiue, and foſter the

seedes of all fruite.

They haue tall Baytrees, and Rosemary, which is pretious in many countries, by reason of the care in planting and preseruing of it, is there common, and growing oftentimes in hedges, as a fence for gardens. The country is able to foster vines, and bring grapes to full ripenesse. For the pleasant & fruitfull mountaines of *Kent*, and *Hampshire*, with other places situated to the South, or East, had heretofore vineyards, which afterwards they omitted to cherish, by reason of the commodity of pasture there, and the cheapnesse of wine transported from *Aquitaine*. Wolues also are rooted out of that part of the country, and doe not vexe the flocks of Sheepe, which freely graze

graze, and often times without the guard of a dogge.

For the diligence of their forefathers, when the rage of wolues was exceeding fierce, and deceiued or wearied the care of the ſhepheards, rooted out by great induſtry the whole race of them; ſoe that the hardineſſe of their cattell, which are able to endure the open ayre in all ſeaſons, and the deſtruction of wolues, doe bring vnto the people an ineſtimable wealth. The inhabitants at eaſe, and almoſt forgetting labour, doe grow rich in victuals, hides, and fleeces, as benefits which the ground of her owne bounty doth beſtow vpon them. They ſcarce take any paines at all in nouriſhing of ſaffron, whereof they haue ſtore, and

exceeding good; the herbe it selfe, not in reward of care, and industry, but of her owne accord, opening and offering her treasure to them. And that nothing might be wanting to soe prosperous a fortune, they haue felt noe inuasion of forreyne souldiers for many ages: home-bred commotions in this age are very seldome: neither doe warrs euer long continue in *England* as in other Lands. In the compasse of eight dayes, many times are great insurrections begun and ended. They warre with men, not with houses, and goods; and commotions, but fresh, and newly risen, are suddainly decided in set battells.

By reason of wealth so easily accrewing, the careless, and rich

rich common people, are not a little puffed vp. Soe that neyther (according to the vse of other Nations (doe they humbly reuerence the dignity of their Nobles, nor are they industrious, or skillfull in handy-crafts by reason of their ease, and plenty. For those that are bound to any trade, doe for the most part finish their apprentiship in seauen yeares; after which time they are free of the company, and then, as if themselues were exempted from labour, they take other apprentices to be vnder them: who after a short learning are employed as iourneymen. They themselues, not onely on solemne, and festiuall daies, but euery holy-day (who would beleeue it?) doe freely take their

ation and pleasure, if it be faire weather, in the fields adioyning, or, if it be rainy, are merry in tauernes. Which causeth a dull and vnskillfull trading, trusted to the knowledge of their apprentices, and the buyers are more peremptorily raised to greater prices, that the worke of the apprentices, and the idlenesse of the Masters may be so maintained. But yet notwithstanding, some kindes of workmanship wrought both with industry and most exact skill, and highly prized through the whole world, doe sufficiently declare, that in that country there is noe fault in the climate, to dull their wits, but too much abundance to make them idle. For as for the stirring vp of wits, and cherishing of Arts,

too

too cruell, and rigorous a gouernment is not at all good, too much depressing the mindes of the people, and dulling them with despaire; soe too plentifull, and wanton a fortune, which intendeth labour, but onely, as it were, in recreation, and sport, can neuer raise the industry and ability of the common people, to an exact diligence, and skill in Arts.

There are noe tributes payed any where in that great Kingdome, nor stations of Publicans in Cities, or the passages of bridges, except only in those places, where shipping is set forth into forreyne countries. For they are strictly tyed to make acknowledgement vnto those, who are farmers of the Kings customs, of all Merchan-

dise

diſe whatſoeuer is brought into the Kingdome, or carried out.)

But the pride of the common people is not more bitter, and diſtaſtfull towards ſtrangers, then towards their owne gentry, who account themſelues equall almoſt to the beſt and ancienteſt of them. By which pride of the clownes, the gentlemen doe ſuffer in ſome ſort for the richneſſe of their country, and are brought almoſt into an hatred of that pretious cauſe of their indignation.

They are all in generall great honorers of the Nobility, which is confined within the ſmall number of thoſe whom they call Lords. Thoſe are, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, and

Barons

Barons: all the ſonnes of Dukes and Marqueſſes, and the eldeſt ſonnes of Earles; in equall honour with theſe the piety of their anceſtors hath placed Biſhops. To theſe Noblemen it is not thought a diſparagement, for any to ſtoope to the loweſt ſeruice; and the Nobles vnderſtand well enough, that the people ſeated, as it were on the ground, doe behold with admiration their height, nor are thoſe dignities bought by the common people for money, but deſcend to their heires by right of inheritance, or new Noblemen by the grant of the King, are aduanced into thoſe degrees; and that you may not thinke it a vaine title, many Lawes and priuiledges doe encreaſe the reſpect of thoſe high names. For

For if it happen that a Lord be in debt, and not able to pay, the creditours can haue no law to attach his body; though the bodies of other debtors, euen before iudgement, are imprisoned in *England*. But this is a greater and more glorious priuiledge, that Noblemen being accused of the greatest crimes, as namely treason to their country, are notwithstanding free from the racke; the makers of the law would not haue it, imagined, that truth, if not otherwise, could bee forced from them, by racking or torment.

The English are for the most part graue, of retired spirits, and fit for counsell; they admire themselues, and the manners, wits, and dispositions of

their

their owne Nation. When they ſalute, or write letters, they ſcorne to deſcend to complements of feined ſeruice, which the flattery of theſe ages haue brought vp, vnleſſe it be thoſe, which are infected with forreyne behauiour. The people are ſtudious of ſea-buſineſſe; nor is there any ſtronger defence of that great Iſland, then the diligence of ſoe many saylers. They are as good ſouldiers by land as by ſea, eſpecially when they are accuſtomed to another ayre, and haue taſted of forreyne diet, which whileſt it is nouelty to them, they affect with too much greedineſſe.

For thoſe inconueniences of gurmundizing, haue beene often the conſumption of armies brought from *Brittaine*. And when

when that Nauy, which was sent by Queene *Elizabeth*, arriued on the shores of *Portugall*, and had wasted the country, and defeated their enemies, the immoderate heate, and the sweetenesse of apples, and berries, which that climate afforded, destroyed almost the whole army. They contemne all dangers, and death it selfe, with more courage, then iudgment; and hence it comes, that they are the best souldiers, when they are gouerned by wise captaines; but when they goe on of their owne accord, possessed with the blindnesse of that desperate valour, they haue reason, after sad defeates to accuse themselues more then their ill fortune. In the late warrs of the Low-countries, some

ſome ſouldiers of the *Spaniſh* party were taken by the *Hollanders*, and were to be hanged, in requitall of the enemies cruelty, who had vſed their priſoners in the like manner. But the *Hollanders* did not intend to execute them all. Of foure and twenty (for ſoe many were taken priſoners) eight onely were appointed to bee hanged, and the reſt to eſcape with life. There were lots therefore throwne into a helmet, and the priſoners were commanded to draw their fortunes, whoſoeuer ſhould draw a blanke, was to eſcape death; but whoſoeuer ſhould draw a blacke lot, was to bee hanged preſently. They were all poſſeſſed with a great apprehenſion of their preſent danger: eſpecially

especially one Spaniard with pittifull wishes, and teares, in some of the standers by, did mooue pity, in others laughter: There was besides in that danger, a certaine Englishman, a common souldier, who with a careless countenance, expressing noe feare of death at all, came boldly to the helmet, and drew his lot; chance fauoured him; it was a safe lot. Being free himselfe from danger, hee came to the Spaniard, who was yet timorous, and trembled to put his hand into the fatall helmet; and receiuing from him ten crownes, hee entreated the Iudges (oh horrid audacity!) that dismissing the Spaniard, they would suffer him againe to try his fortune. The Iudges consented to the mad mans re-

requeſt, who valewed his life at ſoe low a rate; and he againe drew a ſafe lot; a wretch vnworthy not onely of that double, but euen of a ſingle preſeruation, who ſoe baſely had vndervalewed his life.

The Lawes, which the Engliſh vſe, were deliuered them by the Norman Conquerors in the French tongue, but obſolete, and differing from the language which is now ſpoken. They are few, and very ambiguous. Much dependeth vpon cuſtome, and the opinions of Iudges; ſoe that a great way is left open to contentions, to an infinite power of Iudges, and the cloſe diſpoſitions of the people, who ſeeme to retaine the faſhions, as it were, of their Norman originall; doe

open

open themselues in subtleties, which fill the courts with perpetuall wranglings. From whence I thinke that common fable tooke first originall, that the *Englishmen* had long tailes.

They endure with soe constant a patience all customes and lawes, which were anciently deliuered vnto them from their ancestors, that they account it a heynous matter now to alter, or abrogate any law, which was heretofore established, eyther by reason of the rarity of delinquents, or innocence of the Lawmakers. For from what reason, but the vnwary goodnesse of their ancestors, comes this law to stand in force, that a husband is commanded to father a child

and

and receiue him for his heire, though hee were borne a yeare or more after the time, that he accompanyed with his wife; ſoe it be proued, that hee liued that time within the ſhores of *Brittaine*.

But in Philoſophy, and the Mathematicks, in Geography, and Aſtronomy, there is noe opinion ſoe prodigious and ſtrange, but in that Iſland was eyther inuented, or has found many followers, and ſubtile maintainers, but ſuch as through tædious diſputations cannot plainely ſtate the queſtion, which they would ſeeme to vphold: That the Earth is mooued round, and not the Heauens: that the Sunne, with the Planets, and all the other Starrs are not mooued in their globes cæleſti-

all

all; that there are no such globes at all; and lastly, whatsoeuer any doating Philosopher hath heretofore broached, some of them do either hold, or would seeme to do: as if then they were more deeply wise then common men, when they neglect and slight the ordinary wisdome as poore and low, and search deeper into the secrets of Nature, which few are able to apprehend.

But as nothing doth more deepely worke vpon the minds of men, then points of religion; soe in noe disputations are they more vehement then in those. In the worship of God, what religion soeuer they choose to themselues, they run euer into extremes. In the former ages, their richest men leauing the world, betooke themselues by

oath

oath into ſolitary places, and Hermitages; ſoe that the beſt part of the Lands of the Kingdome were beſtowed vpon ſuch deuotion, with too timorous and dangerous a vow, both to the giuers and receiuers of thoſe Lands; for the giuers too much exhauſted the commonwealth, and the receiuers ſuffering themſelues (as it were by the fault of fortune) to fall into luxury, did afterwards draw a great enuy, not onely vpon themſelues, but the religion which they profeſſed. This kinde of deuotion is now publikely baniſhed out of all *England*; and many of them are ſoe much turned to the contrary ſide, that the farther they tread from the ſteps of their forefathers, ſoe much the neerer they thinke

thinke themselues to Heauen.

Nor is that the publike opinion of the State, nor any way safe for them, if the Magistrates finde it; but of priuate spirits deluded by superstition, inuenting to themselues a new religion of their owne, and therefore the more pleasing. Therefore all those, which are once possessed with this pleasing pride of vnderstanding more then others in religion, are diuided into diuers sects and names; and haue diuerse Lawes and rites established among them, neither by the authority of the men, nor the number of them, but onely by wilfull obstinacy; and that which is most worthy of pity and laughter is this; that with

cruell

cruell censures these sects doe persecute one another: holding that they onely are the children of God, and all other reprobates. It hapened one time, that a plaine fellow one of the common people (whither you esteeme the common people by the meanesse of their estates, or of their wit and education) and two of his sonnes were of one faith in a superstition of their owne. These three men (as often times those religions consist of noe greater number) did make a sect and Church by themselues. At last, disputing too hotly in diuinity among themselues, they fell at discord; the father forsooke his sonnes, not because hee had found out better, but different opinions: and was therefore by his sonns (for soe those fooles called it)

excluded out of their communion of Saints: in the meane time, they thought, there were noe other Saints in the world but themselues. But presently after, the two brothers falling at variance, one of them excommunicated the other; soe that soe little a Church consisting onely of three persons, was at last diuided into three Churches. A most prodigious mischiefe, and prone to all madnesse: nor will they slightly maintaine the madnesse of their owne dreames. Many new sects are every day cited before the Iudgement seates, in whom the Iudges can finde nothing agreeing with each other, but onely a wilfull obstinacy. They hold abominable opinions vnworthy of men, and are authors of

their

their owne superstition, misled by noe predecessour, they feare noe tortures; but refusing to be governed by any wisedome or wholesome aduise, they will endure the fire, and sacrifice themselues to their owne madnesse. But strangers that conuerse with that Nation, must take heede, that they doe not censure the country in generall, by the behauiour of a few, and those perchance of the common people; nor is it easie to learne, what behauiour is fitting among natures soe much differing. The common people heated eyther with wine, or choller, are oftentimes forward to abuse strangers: in such a swelling fury of theirs, it were a little more then madnesse to prouoke them by the like sur-

lineſſe; nor is it then a fit ſeaſon, when a tumult is raiſed, to pleade thy excuſe with confidence, much leſſe to expreſſe courage in defending thy ſelfe. By a gentle ſpeech thou mayeſt better diſarme their fierceneſſe; they muſt be baſe and low entreaties, which muſt aſſwage the fury of their firſt aſſault. For this torrent if it bee oppoſed by noe reſiſtance, will languiſh in a moment, and become quiet. This warineſſe, and timorous wiſedome is onely to be vſed in Townes, or publike fields, where a concourſe of people to ſide with them, that did firſt abuſe thee, is eyther gathered already, or preſently to be expected. But in priuate places, and where thy party would not proone too much

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vnequall, then bee ſure to expreſſe (at leaſt in ſhew) a bold ſpirit not brooking iniuries; by which meanes, thou wilt terrifie them, which doe not inſult, out of true valour, but are as ready to receiue, as to offer wrong. The Magiſtrates and Iudges, are fauourable to the complaints of ſtrangers, and forward to puniſh the people, which doe them wrong; vnleſſe it bee a multitude that doe offend, whom it is eaſie to blame, but hard, and for the moſt part too much cruelty to puniſh. And ſoe wonderfly hoſpitable are the ſeates of Iuſtice in that Nation, that if a ſtranger offend, hee ſhall finde them fauourable: or if it happen, that a ſtranger, and an *Engliſh-*

men be both guilty of one fact, which deserueth, eyther the whip, or the gallowes, the stranger many times is no further punished, but onely commanded to depart the Kingdome. The gentlemen are naturally enclined to a kinde entertainment of all strangers, and are worthily ambitious in such curtesies. Soe that no man, vnlesse of a froward and barbarous disposition, and altogether vnworthy of Noble company, can repent himselfe of trauelling into *England*.

Among those Noblemen, whose carriage is graue, and their speech and gesture fitted to their dignity, you must comply with an answerable grauity, and æmulation, as it were, of maiesty; least they perchance

chance ſhould vnderualue you, from their owne grauity, and your ſpeech, which muſt not bee to them in a ſoothing manner, like the *Italian* and *French* humility; you will otherwiſe carry a lower eſtimation among thoſe men, who accuſtome not themſelues vnto affected humanity, and lying complements.

To the Northern parts of *England*, *Scotland* adioyneth, gouerned by a ſcepter of incredible antiquity, compared with other Kingdomes: for the crowne of *Scotland* aboue twenty ages hath endured in the poſſeſſion of one Family. An hundred and twenty Kings haue ſucceſſiuely reigned from *Fergusius* the Firſt, to *Iames* that now is; who to ſoe anci-

ancient a pedigree, adding the Royalty of *England*, is the first, that combined the Kingdomes, and reigneth entirely ouer all *Brittaine*.

The *Scots* are of dispositions fitted for society; of behauiour, and gestures of the body, excelling other Nations, and like vnto the *French* in all things, but the riches of their country. For the country Northward is in many places not fit for tillage, and full of barren mountaines; neyther are those mountaines clothed with woods, vnlesse some, which are raysed into a sharper climate, and giue a woody and barbarous name to the inhabitants. Yet Nature hath bestowed vpon those hardy people, abundance of victuall in fowle, and wilde beasts

besides

beſides their flocks, and heards of cattell. It is a ſight vſuall, to ſee three hundred red Deere, or more in one heard. But the inhabitants can rowze farre greater heards, when the Noblemen are pleaſed to huint there. Neither doe they want cómodities in their country fit to exchange for forreyne merchandiſes, which are tranſported thither of neceſſary vſe. But the ſcarcity of money by no art or induſtry can be redreſſed, ſoe that they which in their owne country doe liue in plenty, and with great attendance, are not able in forreine parts to maintaine their port. But noe people are more mindefull of their pedigrees then they; that they had rather ſometimes diſgrace their Family by their pouerty, then conceale

the vnseasonable expressing of their titles, or not mention their kindred. For it is necessary in a country more populous, then fruitfull, that some of Noble blood should bee borne to extreme pouerty. So that the *Scots* dispersed into many countries to get their liuing, (and none are more faithfull and industrious then they) being still eager in publishing their Nobility, are often laughed at by the hearers, then beleeued, or pittied.

But the people couragious also against themselues, are diuided by many and fierce enmities, and cruell to each other, beyond all lawes of humanity or hatred. For being diuided by Families, and Names, they hold those as Princes of their

their factions, which possesse the most ancient inheritance of the Family. To those men they are wonderously obseruant, with a loue as great almost, as to their country it selfe; to them, when they are wronged, they flie for succour, vsing the patronage, and strength of their owne Family. By this meanes it has happened, that small quarrells betwixt men of obscure condition, haue beene the causes of great and horrible commotions. For they that haue quarrelled, complayning on both sides to the Princes of their Kindred, haue turned their priuate wrongs into the iniuries of whole families. Nor are these differences decided with little blood; for sometimes gathered into troopes,

and

and almost into iust armies, they fight it out; and these enmities continue to their heires after them. They thinke it glorious, to reuenge murder with murder, and fire with fire. Nor doe they alwayes deale by open force, but by snares and treacherics. Nothing can bee base or ignoble to them, who can cure their eyes onely by the miseries of their enemies. And this mischiefe has often beene the ouerthrow of Noblemen, who haue eyther beene slaine in fight, or else vndone in their estates, by keeping such multitudes of seruants and tenants about them (for soe it was necessary for feare of suddaine assaults from their enemies) whilest their Lands haue lyen vntilled, and wast. And some haue

haue thought, that the scarcity of wood in the country, has beene caused by these enmities; whilest these cruell people on both sides haue burnt vp their enemies woods, and reuenged their priuate iniuries with the deuastation of their country. But these things heretofore were more to bee bewailed, when they were euery where rife; now, since wee see it otherwise, wee may cherish hereafter better hopes: For although heretofore, it lay not in the power of the Kings, to remedy soe great a mischiefe, when the Nobles by the faithfulnesse & number of their clients were more fierce and strong; yet the now reigning King, *Iames* of *Brittaine*, has at last bestowed this benefit vpon his country.

Hee

Hee whileſt hee was yet King of *Scotland* onely, eſteemed the cauſe, of this great miſchiefe, one of the greateſt cares belonging to his Kingdome. But hee was loath to apply a remedy to it by parts; which had beene altogether vaine: for noe one difference could euer haue beene quieted in true peace, vnleſſe all had beene compounded together. For the examples of ſuch crimes, and pardons for them (which were neceſſary in thoſe times) would haue encouraged others to the ſame audacity; eſpecially, leaſt they ſhould ſeeme to haue borne a fearefull, and degenerate anger. Hee therefore thought it beſt at once, and for euer, to compound theſe deadly feuds.

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The King therefore tooke a diligent account of those, whose Familyes were engaged in such quarrells, and partly in his owne person, partly by the mediation of his chiefe Counsellers, by entreaties, and authority, he soe reconciled them all, that the bitternesse of a mischiefe soe long vsed was scarce any more named among them: a great and admirable worke of a most wise and industrious King, yet not performed without much time and wonderfull felicity.

Two yeares after hee had thus appeased *Scotland*, hee was called to the succession of the crowne of *England*; a great happyneſſe for the strengthening of this amity among the *Scots*, who now with a fitting, and

and wholesome awe doe honour their King, soe much encreased in power and strength.

The *Scots* are suddaine, and violent in vndertaking any thing, which their hopes perswade them to; and they easily giue credit to any hopes. They are suddainely moued to anger, which after the first fit is soone asswaged. They are better at getting of wealth then keeping it: eyther because their mindes greater then their fortunes, are much enclined to inconsiderate bounty, and loue the fame, more then the possession of riches; or else deceiued by the quality of their owne country, when they haue attained to such a summe of money as would make them rich for euer in *Scotland*, they grow

too ſecure of future pouerty, and doe not vnderſtand, that in euery Land, the expences, and prices of things, are anſwerable to the plenty of gold and ſiluer; ſoe that a great quantity of money can hardly bee gotten in any place, but ſuch as is vſed to great expences. What ſtudies ſoeuer they enclineto, they proſper in them with wonderfull ſucceſſe. None are more patient of military duties, nor none more valiant in fight, then they. nor doe the Muſes euer appeare more beautifull, then when they inſpire the breaſts of *Scots*. They are capable alſo of city-buſineſſe, and can fit their induſtry to any kinde eyther of life or fortune.

But thoſe that trauell, or rather wander in a poore faſhion

and

and rely vpon no other meanes, then going to the houſes of their countrymen, which are growne rich in other Lands, and demand, as it were, the tribute of their country, are moſt intollerable in their proud beggery.

Ireland, by the ancient Latines called *Iuerna*, and now *Hybernia*, is an Iſland not far from *Brittaine*, and ſubiect to the crowne of *England*; a great and ſpacious Iſland. commodious for ſhipping, by reaſon of many hauens; nor is it to bee cenſured by the barbariſme and ſordid liuing of many of the inhabitants; for the fruitfulneſſe of it inuiteth many colonies out of *England*, and *Scotland* to come thither. It is of a moyſt ayre, but yet wholeſome, and

mor-

mortall to any venomous creatures. Newets and Toades, if they bee brought thither, will not liue. The wood transported from thence noe age nor neglect will make worme-eaten, nor hung with spiders cobwebs, although the *Irish* haue their spiders, but harmeleſſe, and free from venome. The beames, rafters, and boordings of *Weſtminſter*-hall, where the Courts of Iuſtice ſit, are made of that wood; and there (a wonderfull thing!) the walls round about are filled with ſpiders, but none of thoſe ſordid nets are ſpread vpon the wood.

The *Irish*, which liue not in Townes, or ciuill places, are wonderfull hardy in enduring any ayre, or diet, by reaſon of ong and accuſtomed pouerty. They

They can satisfie their hunger with any victuals gotten on the suddaine; as venison, or beefe halfe-raw. They temper their meate with milke. They build brittle and weake houses about the height of a man, where themselues and their cattell liue together. But this in those peop'e is a thing to be wondred at: the loue of sloth and ease, doth soften the courages of other Nations, but maketh the *Irish* valiant in warre. For by reason of their sloth, though their fields are fertile, yet tilling and sowing are things almost vnknowne to them. They are content with that grasse, which the ground yeeldeth of her owne accord for pasture, for their cattell. They exercise noe handy crafts

dycrafts, for feare of diſparaging that Nobility, which they ſoe highly boaſt of. Soe in a ſordid, and filthy idleneſſe, they lead their liues, and had rather cure by patience, then induſtry, the diſcommodities which are daily companions of their barbarous liuing; and ſoe farre are they from knowing delight, as they feele not want and miſery. In one ſingle garment they endure both wet and cold; by often hunting, they grow wonderfull ſwift in running, equalling almoſt the wild beaſts; when they are weary, or benighted, the ground ſerues them for a lodging, and couered with ſnow, or wet with ſhowres, yet they are ſooner raiſed by ſatiety of ſleeping, then by the iniury of the

the weather, excellent rudiments of warre and valour, if they did not proceede from such filthy sloth. This beastlynesse, in time of peace also, neyther the fellowship of the *English*, nor the æmulation of the *Spanish* fashions, can make them to shake off; but they loue this life soe full of sordid discommodities, as free from cares, allured by a wicked shadow of liberty, which in different kindes has fouly deceiued diuerse Nations.

They are obstinate in their owne vices, haters of labour, and soe of all profit; but very industrious, in theeuing, and freebooting, or any paines, which is like to hunting. And these are the slothfull miseries

of

of the common people. The Noblemen are many of them very faithfull, of braue mindes, nurtured in all vertues that befit their dignities.

Thoſe alſoe that liue in Cities or the pleaſanteſt parts of the Kingdome, are adorned with great humanity; and declare by this, that thoſe wilde *Iriſh* are barbarous by their owne willfullneſſe, and not borne to that vice, by the fate of the Iſland.

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The

The Fift Chapter.

GERMANY.

THe Riuer *Rhene* arising from the foote of the *Alpes*, and flowing along the borders of the Low-countries, doth there fall into the *Ocean*. It was once the bound of *Germany*; but now by the changes of Names and Empires, the limits of *Germany* being encreased, it may bee sayd to run through it.

Germany is a spacious country, reaching from the *Alpes* and *France*, as farre as *Sarmatia* and *Pannonia*, diuided into many principalities and commonwealths. It was once full of woods and wild inhabitants, but

but now beautified euery where with faire Townes; the woods which were once great, and oreſpread the country, are now reduced to vſe and ornament. It nouriſheth vines in that part, where it bordereth vpon *Italy*, and where it declineth towards *Pannonia*, as likewiſe vpon thoſe hils which ouerſhadow the *Rhene*; and ſome few places beſides, where the ground by fauour of ſome hils, and warmth of the riuers, is fitted for that purpoſe. The cold grounds in their mountaines abound with firre trees, and other woods. *Iſter*, the Prince of riuers in Europe, doth cut almoſt through the midſt of *Germany*, and riſes in a ſea-like channell, to the yearely ruine of bridges there.

whose bankes are beautified with famous cities, but too few for the greatnesse of soe noble a riuer. *Rhene*, *Albis*, and many riuers famous in old times, doe flow through all the breadth of *Germany*. The country is full of good Innes on that side where the *Alpes* bound it, and all along the course of *Ister*; in those places also where *Rhene* runnes, and *Menis* with the *Maze*, encreases of soe great a riuer: but that side of the country which lyes toward the *Ocean* and the inner Land, remooued from the famous and publike rodes, for nasty Innes, and sordid manner of liuing in generall, retaineth much of that Genius which Ancient Writers haue ascribed to it. Yet there are cities not vn-

vnworthy of fame: the market-places and ſtreets eſpecially exactly handſome; the houſes of lofty and euen ſtructure, the fraiſer parts of the building couered with paintings.

The inner parts of their houſes are not with like skill fitted for vſe; their beds are placed in the remote, and (for the moſt part) obſcure places of the houſe. They doe not vſe lightly any chimneyes at all. They had rather vſe certaine little ſtoues to expell the cold, which are made in the chamber-walls, and fire put into them according as the quality of the weather requireth. But this heat is many times troubleſome to ſtrangers; for it maketh their heads heauy with vnuſuall vapours, and when they goe out from

thence, their bodies being chilly, and the pores opened, are not able to endure the ayre. Besides, when the fire begins to be remitted, these kinde of hot-houses haue ill' sauours; especially those, which belong to their dining roomes, where the confused vapours of soe many sorts of meate doe fill the ayre, and soe much wine is drunke, and spilled. And not onely in those hot-houses, but in other chambers and parlours also, are many of the *Germanes* too slouenly, and careless; insomuch that strangers, when they come thither, can hardly brooke the ayre of those roomes. That Nation is infected with a wonderfull loue of drinking, which now is a confessed vice, and therefore the more freely vsed. Nor is this bar-

barbarous drunkennesse vsed as a pleasure onely, but growne into a part of their behauiour and discipline; the fauours of some of their Princes are purchased onely by this base price, when the Princes doe seeke some cõpanions in their vices, or purpõse to entertaine Embassadours and strangers with the freest hospitality. For the *Germanes* thinke, there can bee noe entertainment soe pleasing to a stranger as a long, & drunken banquet; and thinke themselues neuer truely welcome to another mans house, vnlesse he that inuited them bee wondrous forward in making both them & himselfe drunke. That is the chiefest vrbanity there, and in nature of a league vpon the first acquaintance.

It hapened on a time, that some *Dutch* regiments of souldiers were entertaine in *France*, and commanded by Colonels of their owne Nation: a Nobleman of *France* inuited one of these *Germane* Colonels to supper, knowing how deare a league of friendship might bee made with a *Germane* in drinke: hee prouoked him therefore to mirth, with store of wine, and many formes and deuices of drinking there were. At last, the *Germane*, eyther to make tryall, how freely welcome he was to the *French* Lord, or else greeued, that the drinking match went soe slowly forward, and seeking a glorious victory, hee challenges the *Frenchman* to pledge him, and begins to him

a cup of great measure; the *Frenchman* nothing affrighted (to all our wonder) rises vp; noble guest (quoth hee) that thou mayst know thou wert inuited to a friend, I will not onely pledge what thou hast drunke, but in a louing quarrell, challenge thee to pledge me as much more. With these words, hee pledges the *Germane* Colonell at one draught, and filling the same cup againe for his guests sake, though his belly swelled, he dranke it off to him. The Colonell wonderfully taken with soe great an expression of loue, rises vp (though hee could hardly stand) noble sir (quoth hee) doe not thinke this loue is bestowed vpon an vnthankfull man; you know, I haue noe small regiment of

souldiers vnder my command. Their entertainment for two whole moneths shall cost you nothing, since I know your treasurie these hard times is much exhausted. After these two moneths, if it please you, and that you be well able, they shall take entertainment againe. At soe great a requitall of one carouse, we were all amazed for the present, but much more, when the Colonell performed his promise. Among these people plaine and open behauiour is most pleasing, and such as first gaue to *Bacchus* the name of freedome. They hate all kinde of hidden subtlety; eyther because, that they themselues loosened by drinke, cannot firmely keepe a secret in; or because their

mindes in such bodies know themselues to be dull, and are euer suspitious of the subtleties of other men as bent against them, and aiming to ouerreach them. The Magistrates of their commonwealths, chosen from among their fellow-citizens, bring to the Tribunall noe mindes adorned with high parts; but cleaue fast to the institutions of their fathers, with an efficacious diligence. The people are very obedient to those that gouerne them, and will often giue credit to their Magistrates, euen in poynts of religion. And you shall hardly see any priuate man whatsoeuer, gainesay any rites of religion, which the Prince, or commonwealth haue approoued of; those mischiefes, which

haue troubled *England* and *France* for a long time, the (I had almoſt ſayd) felicity of this miſerable careleſſneſſe hath quite auoyded.

Yet I muſt except *Auſtria*, which lyeth almoſt out of the *Germane* climate, & hath not yet loſt her ancient Nature, though ſhe haue changed her name (for *Auſtria* in old times was accounted a part of *Pannonia*.) And *Bohemia* alſo, not in this age alone, diuided in it ſelfe by moſt vnhappy contentions about religion; but *Bohemia*, though it bee ſituated in the boſome of *Germany*, is diuided from the body of it, in language, in manners, and different Lawes. Learning in many places of *Germany* doth flouriſh; but the men are more deſirous to

teach, then to learne. They write more, then they reade: and value their reputation, by the number and greatneſſe of the volumes which they publiſh in print.

Their wits, as they are darke and dull, ſoe are they ſtrong to endure endleſſe toyle, ſoe that others may bee able to vnderſtand better, but they to vnderſtand more. Many of their Noblemen, who contented with their owne wealth and manners haue onely ſeene, and doe onely admire their natiue *Germany*, though in their owne iudgements they ſeeme endued with graue wiſedome, yet want much of the humanity of our age. Their words are much of the old ſtampe, and their learning wanteth the dreſſe and colours

lours of later wisedome. They are desirous of trauell, and great counterfeiters, or retainers of forreyne behauiour, vntill they returne home into their owne country. It is not vsuall for strangers, to dwell long, or rise to preferment in that country; and the name of a forreyner is almost accounted a word of disgrace among them. *Germany* oppressed with these manners, is notwithstanding recompenced againe by other excellent endowments, and manly vertues. Treachery is a thinge vnknowne among them, yea euen in hired souldiers of that Nation. Noe deceitfull cunning, or hatred, lurketh vnder the titles of friendship; and the simplicity of that modest people is altogether vnskilfull

in

in great villanies. They are little giuen to luſt, and that in great ſecret; their youths boaſt not of it, like ſome other Nations, as a pride and ſport; for the men of *Germany* are as farre from that almoſt, as the accuſtomed modeſty of women. But wiſedome, as it findes not often there ſubtle and ſharpe heads to entertaine it, by whoſe cunning it may bee drawne neere to deceit: ſoe it many times findeth true and mature iudgements to reſt vpon, who can eaſily bee prouident in their owne affaires, and contemne the errours of other men. There are among them lofty mindes, in whom the felicity of a liuely and raiſed ſpirit, doth well temper their naturall grauity; eſpecially if they

haue

haue long seasoned that ability of wit with forreyne arts and manners. The Nation, though valiant in warre, can very well endure peace. They are not suddainly mooued to tumults, but being once raised, they rage like men, and are not easily appeased. The people are excellent at working in brasse, or iron, and drawing it into curious sculptures.

For the Inuention of Printing and Gunpowder, the world is indebted to the *Germane* wits; a benefit, altogether doubtfull, whither more to the damage, or behoose of mankind. Their mindes are full of candor, not enuying, nor carping at the vertues, deedes, or inuentions of other men, especially, those that are absent: but

but extol'ing them with sincere, and many times immoderate praises.

But nothing is more magnificent in that Nation, then that the Christian Empire, and Eagle is seated there; as if *Germany* had vanquished *Rome*; and the last of the Prouinces that bowed to the *Romane* yoake, is now the onely country, where the name, and reliques of the *Romane* fortune doe rest themselues. The Sacred Maiesty of soe great a name is eclipsed by noe æmulation of other Princes; and Kings, though farre greater in power, then he, yet willingly giue place to the Imperiall Maiesty. That highest dignity was heretofore supported by a power answerable, which by little and little as it

were in a fatall old age, did leſſen and conſume away. For by domeſticke warrs, and the immoderate power of Princes of the Empire, and beſides, the dignity being electiue not hæreditary, the vigour of the Empire falling to ground, hath onely retained a venerable name, more by the piety of others, then her own ſtrength. Among other cauſes of the decay of this power, this you ſhall finde to bee the greateſt; the Princes being of great wealth, and encreaſed by the bounty of former Emperours, haue at laſt changed thoſe Prouinces, which were firſt deputed vnto them, into abſolute Principalities, & to haue ſome priuiledge aboue the Emperour (who oweth his eſtate not to right of inhe-

inheritance, but their suffra-
ges) they have made their own
dignities, inheritances to their
posterity. By this meanes the
mindes of those Nations and
People, which are naturally en-
clined to honour their Princes,
and heretofore onely in loyalty
to the Emperour, came by de-
grees to honour those Princes,
as his deputies, and afterwards
as their owne absolute Lords:
which was a nearer way, either
to profit, or danger. Soe the
power of those Princes begun
and strengthned, did exhaust
the strength of the whole
Empire: and first of all, as
much as remayned in *France*,
then *Italy*, it selfe, the foun-
taine of the Empire; after-
wards the strongest parts
of *Germany*, taken, as it
were

were, out of their owne body, did fall away, and were diuided by the variety, and number of Princes, into other loyalties. But in *France*, and *Brittaine*, which are moſt true Kingdomes, it was ordered farre otherwiſe, and thoſe Princes, whoſe power was too great, and worthy of ſuſpition, by the prouidence of God, and induſtry of the Kings, were ſuppreſſed, and rooted out. For what roome were left for the Maieſty and State of Kings, if *Normandy*, *Brittaine*, *Aquitaine*, *Burgundy*, *Auuergne*, *Poctcirs*, *Prouence*, and *Champaine*, were poſſeſſed by Dukes, or Earles, as once in the gouernment of petty Kings? who ſafe in their owne ſtrength would obey the King vpon curteſie,

and

and onely not contemne him as inferiour to themselues. But what miseries in the Kingdome of *Brittaine* haue beene caused by the great, and too formidable power of Dukes, and Count Palatines, endued with regall priuiledges, and mighty in faction, and attendance? what bloody rebellions haue they oft raised against their Kings? there is noe more certaine safety of the Kingdome at this day, then that the power of those great men, and their Families, are vtterly suppressed, and the nerues of the Kingdome guided by one onely.

The Emperours therefore should then haue preuented this renting of the Empire, when first the Princes began to grow too great. But now the

the diſeaſe too farre growne, and all affaires too long ſetled, ſo that the Empire eſpecially conſiſteth of thoſe Princes: to extort the power out of their hands, were not onely an vnſeaſonable, but a vaine enterpriſe; ſoe many vpholders of thoſe dignities would ioyne in confederacy againſt him for their common ſecurity: eſpecially ſeeing at this day, their Principalities doe as lawfully belong to them, as the Empire doth to him; their titles accreuing both from the conſent of them that firſt gaue that power into their hands, and alſo by time and long poſſeſſion; whereby all titles of Soueraignty, which for the moſt part are weake, or wrongfull at the firſt, are made lawfull.

But the last and mortall disease of the expiring Empire was this, that many, or most of the cities, imitating these Princes, gathered themselues into Commonwealths, making themselues Lawes, and ordaining Magistrates; and to make it knowne, that they had renounced their first loyalty, in this sliding from the Empire, they challenged the name of Free States; entering into leagues among themselues, to maintaine each other against the Soueraignty of the Emperour.

Soe that countrywhich in one State, & vnder one Gouernour, had beene able to contest with all Europe, puissant in men, and strong cities, and worthy to receiue the translated dignity

of

of the *Romane* Empire can now finde noe Prouince, nor scarce any city, that shee can deliuer to her Emperour in free power and Soueraignty. For the Commonwealths and Principalities will suffer noe Imperiall garrisons within them nor can that Prince, that beares soe great and glorious a title, finde any place among soe many cities, where hee may haue his subiects leaue to dwell. By this sweet, and publike errour, they haue disarmed the Maiesty of their owne country.

The seauen Electors, by the custome of the country, are to choose no man *Cæsar*, but a great man possessed of a Kingdome, or other great wealth, and Territoryes of his owne already. Vertue and Nobility

alone

alone can neuer carry those voices. For where should the seate of the Emperour bee, vnlesse he had one already without the Empire? where should that Court bee kept, which were answerable to the title of soe great Maiesty? they would hardly suffer him to dwell any where among them, whom they loue to honour in his absence. But if the fate of that valiant Nation would permit, that the whole Prouince might be absolutely subiect to their Elected *Cæsar*, then they might easily finde among themselues some, that were fit for that great and puissant honour, and bee forced to seeke after nothing in their Elections, but vertue onely.

The Emperour then hath some

some power (but limited and straightned) ouer all the country. In ciuill contentions they doe often appeale to him. But capitall crimes the Princes and Free States doe iudge in there owne territories. The Emperour has power to call diots, to proclaime warrs, and determine controuersies betweene the Princes themselues. When warrs doe threaten *Germany*, hee commands men and money from the Prouinces, if that may bee termed by command, which cannot bee obtained without their free consent.

The Free Princes in that spacious country are very many, but the reuenewes diuided among the brothers, or male kindred of a Family, doe by that meanes grow many times

lesse

tle differences in diuiding Prouinces or Principalities, and in parting priuate estates, and patrimonies. In that manner, the Dukedome of *Saxony* was in this age diuided among many brothers, and because it was a hard matter, those that were skilfull in the lawes and customes of the country were by their command assembled together. To whom, as they sate in counsell, and the brethers were contending about their right, a fellow of somewhat a distracted minde, but such a one, as vsed to delight the hearers with his harmeless and pleasant madnesse, came in among them.

The eldest brother of the *Saxon* Duke looking vpon this fellow, (for hee had vsed

his Court, and waited at his table) wilt thou also (quoth he) giue thy opinion concerning this diuision of the State? why should I not answered the fellow? vpon which, they were all in expectation to heare some ridiculous and pleasant iest from the mad-man, and entreated him earnestly, that his counsell might not bee wanting in soe great a matter. But he denyed to beare any part in the consultation, vnlesse they would giue him such a gowne as the Lawyers vsed to weare, saying that with that gowne hee should put on wisedome. with that a merrier Genius possessed them all, insomuch that his Lord laughing heartily, commanded a furrd gowne to bee brought out of his waid-

rope

rope, and put vpon him. Which when the fellow had fitted well, hee walked twice or thrice about the roome, and began to aske his Lord, whither that garment became him well or not; excellent well, answered the Duke; but now it remaines, that thy wisedome should determine the controuersies that are betweene vs. Hee told them, hee would presently bee ready for them, but first he must retire a little into the next chamber; and there hee would call some spirits of better wisedome to counsell with him. When hee was retired thither, hee shut the doore presently, that noe man might enter to interrupt his witty knauery; and putting off the gowne, with a lit-

tle sword, which was girded about him, hee cut it from the shoulders to the lowest hemm, into long and slender slashes. Then putting it on all ragged as it was, he opened the doore, and comming out to his Lord asked him againe, how well that gowne did now become him: anger had curbed his Lords laughter, for the gowne which was soe spoyled, was of great price. Thou wretch (quoth the Duke) I will haue thee whipt, for presuming soe madly to spoyle thy Lords gowne. The fellow not at all affrighted, answered them thus: how ridiculous is it in you to be soe extremely angry with me, when your selues are farre more dangerously mad, this

gowne

gowne, which I haue put on, is the repreſentation of your fortunes, and much more fooliſhly doe you goe about to rent, and ſpoile the Dukedome of *Saxony*, then I haue done this garment. Whilſt it was whole, it became mee well, and you laugh at it, now it is thus mangled.

Soe *Saxony* vnited in one body doth flouriſh, and is puiſſant in armes and wealth; but when you haue rent it into many peeces, noe man can vphold the ancient dignity.

The wealth of the *Germane* Princes, beſides ſome taxes and tributes, are, for the moſt part, ariſing out of flockes and heards of cattell; as alſoe out of the fertilty of the ſoyle,

which commonly they exercise with the voluntary, not hired labour of the Boores. By this meanes they cannot certainely define their wealth, and annuall reuenew, which is to be valued according to the changeable price of corne. The Nobility haue a great and superstitious care of their pedigree; and thinke that ancient blood is stained, if it be marryed into a lower or vpstart Family; nor is such a staine washed away in many generations. For to a cleare testimony of Noble birth, are required eight descents of ancestors in both lines, which haue not at all beene tainted with this vnequall marriage. In their discourses they haue certaine titles and formes of speech fitted

ted to all conditions of men; which they account it almost a sin, eyther to neglect, or carelesly confound; nor doth any Nation vse more set formes, ouerburdening euen the memory of those who from their child-hoods haue beene trained in that Art, and superstitious distinction.

In that part of *Belgia*, which is accounted in *Germany*, are those Prouinces, which heretofore by war, marriages and successions were incorporated together vnder the house of *Burgundy*; and afterwards transferred by marriage to the *Spaniard*; and the chiefe strength of that Nation, if they could as well obey the harsh commands of their Prince being absent, as they can ho-

nour him preſent in perſon with them. Some of theſe people in this age complaining of hard vſage, breaking the bonds of cõcord, by which they were tied both to their Prince, and among themſelues, haue riſen in ſoe great a ſtorme, as may well deſerue to put all Europe into a feare. In this commotion part of them by armes haue acquired their liberty; the reſt either maſtered by power, or detained by loyall reuerence of their ancient Lords, continue ſtill in obedience to their Prince. Thoſe that deſpiſing the Soueraignty of the *Spaniard*, haue made themſelues a free-State, inhabite chiefly about the *Ocean*, and are called by forreyne Nations *Hollanders*, which was the chiefe Nati-

Nation among them. By a boldneſſe neceſſary after their reuolt, they haue giuen themſelues to ſea-affaires; from whence they are growne to great ſtrength and wealth, ſearching all ſhores, and infeſting the *Spaniſh* Sea. By this meanes, their cities are encreaſed, and their wealth, by daily booties. Auxiliary ſouldiers from *France* and *England*, haue come vnto them, by reaſon of that mutuall benefit, which accrewes, both to the aided, and the aiders.

The other which remaine vnder the *Spaniſh* ſcepter, taking alſo their name from one of their Prouinces, are calld through the world *Flemmings*.

But

But the people, though thus distinguished into two Gouernements, retaine the same Genius and dispositions. Their wits are candid, but made grosser as it were by the fault of the climate, which yet they doe more depresse by the distemper of drinking; whither this thirst bee kindled in them by the fortune of their situation, and neighbour-hood of High-*Germany*; or by the manner of educating their infants. For they giue to their infants to abate their desire of milke, whilst yet they hang at their mothers breasts, bottles full of beere, made after the fashion of a dugge.

That innocent and vncurious age oftentimes lifting to the mouth the beere which comes

comes soe slowly, is delighted with the likenesse of sucking, and keept from the wearisomnesse of idlenesse. Nor is the thing without some profit, if from their first growth onely you esteeme it.

For infants soe ordered are brought to haue strong bodies, and full of cheerefull and wholsome iuyce. But the perpetuall custome of drinking, grows by soe vsing it into a perpetuall pleasure, stirring vp the desire of the palate, which is euer afterwards, eyther ouerflowed, or thirstie. To this may bee added, the qualitie of that drinke, not quenching the thirst after the manner of wine and water, but in a thicke liquor, leauing still that vpon the iawes, which by the next

draught

draught would bee washed away.

But by this strange delight in drinking their wits (which you would wonder at) are not drowned, and made slothfull, but industrious in all the artes of merchandise, beyond the diligence of other Nations.

Their strong and accustomed bodies are able to buckle with that vice, and with a wondrous felicity dissipate againe those clouds of drinke, which in banqueting arise in them: see that their drunkennesse late at night makes them not slothfull in their businesse the next morning.

None excell their industry in low arts. Idlenesse with more

more then *Athenian* ſeuerity is puniſhed among them; their boyes (if neede bee, at the publike charge) are trained vp in action, and their maides to the ſpindle; euery age is exerciſed, and ſweat in a fitting calling; and labour familiar to them from their child-hood, baniſhes, euen by cuſtome alone, the loue of vnknowne ſloth. By this frugall diſcipline their cities are wonderfully enriched with trading, and few of them ſteepe in the lethargy of beggery. The wits of the people are neyther capable, nor patient of fraud.

They doe eaſily value others with that truſt which they

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are worthy of; but their simplicity, once deceiued, with an irreconcileable hatred auoides the perfidiousnesse of those that cozen them.

Among these people there haue beene in all ages some excellent mindes that haue kept vp the dignitie of learning; or else admitted to the Priuy Councells of Princes & States, haue with worthy dexterity managed the affaires committed to them. As in those regions, where commonly, and as it were, by the priuiledge of their birth, sharpe and elegant wits arise, few are eyther carefull, or able, to exceede the tenor of their owne mediocrity; so Nations, of a lower fate as it were, and more furnished with the ancient goodnesse, then

then the vaine ornaments of subtelty, are sometimes excellent in wit, and grow nearer to heauen, then they were borne to the earth.

The chiefe men of *Holland* haue commonly framed their minds and manners according to the Genius of that Common wealth, which themselues haue made; eyther by a facility of Nature borne to that forme of Gouernment which now they haue, or else by a subtle and popular garbe, ready also to vndergoe all offices of mutuall seruitude, vnlesse when they are commanded to beare rule.

But those Noblemen, which are vnder the *Spaniard*, are more filled with Court-ambition, and with their *Belgicke* dis-

positions haue mixed the manners of that people that reigne ouer them. Whence it comes to passe, that they haue, as it were, a double Nature, and a disposition various, and almost diuided betweene two most different inclinations. But among all their desires, the desire of honours is the greatest. They do ambitiously seeke, and carefully maintaine those titles and names which the craft of flatterers has inuented to distinguish dignities. Nor can you any way winne their affections more, then by saluting them cunningly with honour. They are curteous to those that flatter them, and prodigall in giuing respect where they expect greater. Soe with true and sincere loue they re-

com-

compence a ſubtle flattery, vnleſſe that they being mooued to loue for vaine reaſons, are often changed by the ſame raſhneſſe; and perchance by a vaine ſuſpition of contempt, are loſt as farre as to extreme hatred. The common-people in thoſe Prouinces on both ſides doe more eſteeme a ſhew of liberty, and vaine tokens of parity, then liberty it ſelfe. From hence proceeded thoſe arts, which ſoe eaſily catch them: as; not to diſdaine their clowniſh ieſts, to entertaine diſcourſe with them by the way, and to mixe thy ſelfe with them (though much their ſuperiour) in a kinde of humility, which ſhall neyther bee diſparaging, nor long-laſting.

William

William Prince of *Orange*, a moſt politike man, by this art, more then by any warre-like force afflicted the *Spaniard*.

The Boores of *Holland* inhabited many Townes by the *Ocean*-ſide; the greateſt ſtrength (noe doubt) of *Belgia* reuolting from the *Spaniard*: and able to weary the wealth of both the *Indies*: for the Townes guarded both by Nature and ſituation, might by no very chargeable fortifications bee brought to an impregnable ſtrength.

Therefore at the beginning of their reuolt, *William* by a new way of popularity had wonne all the affections of the people, who thought in how much more happy a condition they

they should liue vnder such a Captaine, as owed his power and authority to them, then vnder the King himselfe.

For comming slouenly from sea or the plow, they had free accesse to him, whose Maiesty, and attendance was not great or troublesome. Hee himselfe in a deepe subtlety, was glad to haue himselfe saluted by those, that met him or came to him, by noe high or enuied names, but sometimes plaine *William*. And very well knowing by what waies especially the affections of his Nation were to bee gained, hee did not proudly looke vpon the lowest condition of any that saluted him.

remark-

Remarkable was that saying of his, to content those that reprooued his too-much humanity ; *That man is well bought, who costs but a salutation.*

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The

The Sixt Chapter.

ITALY,

ITaly, which was once confined by the ſmall channell of the riuer *Rubicon*, is now bounded, (more ſuitable farre to the intention of Nature,) by the encloſure of thoſe lofty *Alpes*. A Land owing much to her owne commodities, but more endebted to the fauour of fame. Renowned heretofore by the *Gracian* Colonies in her Eaſterne part; afterward by the ſpirit of her inhabitants, and the greatneſſe of her ſpreading Empire, whoſe ſtate no age could euer paralell. And laſtly, ſince the nerues of

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the *Romane* greatneſſe are quite cut, ſhe remaines euen at this day, an example of life and breeding to many Nations; our people ſuppoſing that to be the onely place for the poliſhing of youth, and the nurſery of all humanity.

The very Names of her cities and other places, ſoe celebrated in true and fabulous ſtories, driuing the ignorant euen into amazement, ſuch as giue more true credit to others then to their owne knowledge.

By this ſtrange fauour of men are the faults of *Italy* concealed, and her good things ſet off with greater luſtre. Nor is their any doubt, but that at ſome places it exceeds the felicity of other regions, there where

where the riuer *Benacus* with his Masculine streame sporteth along the side of the mountaines, and where *Auernus*, *Puteoli*, and *Cuma* wanton it. As rich and beautifull (being a country almost leuell, and well watered) is that which the *Lombards* tooke from possession of the *French*.

But if we compare the fortune of all *Italy* with her neighbours, as *Germany*, *France* and that more Northern *Britaine*; then perchance we may iustly bee ashamed that *Italy*, by our preuarication, feeding soe much the glory of it, should eclipse the felicity of our owne country.

The Land is rugged in generall by the frequency of mountaines, or parched with

too great and barren heat. The ſoile is dry in many places, and where it is arable, their corne, before it be ripe, is corrupted by frequent ſinuts, or deſtroyed by violent haile.

Of paſture-grounds there is noe great ſtore, and in thoſe the wooll of their ſheepe is naught, and their fleſh worſe. And ſcarce at any time has the fruitfullneſſe of *Italy* beene able to ſuffice plenteouſly her owne inhabitants for three yeares together; nor muchleſſe would it ſuffice them, did not the frugality of the men, and the condition of the clime, requiring noe plentifull diet, accuſtome them to ſparing and ſober feaſts. Trees of diuers ſorts, which vnder the moderateneſſe of our clime doe thriue

thriue happily, are there enfeebled by too much heate, bringing forth weake, and vnprofitable fruit. Oranges, Pomegranates, and Figges of diuers races doe there abound to temper with their cooleneſſe the exceſſe of heate in the country: which fruits, though not at all neceſſary for humane vſe, yet carried about the world, are growne precious more by our delicacy then their owne value.

For Oliues (though there they are counted one of the three great bleſſings of mankind, with Corne and Wine,) they haue reaſon to prize out of the condition of that country, in which by the fault of paſture, their dry cattel doe afford the milkers but little

and vnſauoury vdders. Their fleſh meates degenerate from the ſweetneſſe of ours almoſt into another kinde of taſte, except only ſome few, which doe better indure the violence of the ſunne. So that now thoſe palates of paraſites ſo frequently filling the *Greeke*, and *Roman* Comedies with commendation of fiſhes, may ſeeme to haue beene eſpecially ſuted to that country.

Their Cities are for the moſt part faire, and ſituated in pleaſant places.

Their houſes built of no ſlight matter, eſpecially thoſe which they call Palaces, are commonly more beautifull for the greatneſſe of their ſtructure, then conuenient for the vſe of the dwellers in them.

They

They glitter with marble of diuers kinds, and sometimes with gold; their roofes extended with magnificent worke. Old eaten statues are placed vpon faire & precious supporters, which for their gorgeous places are sometimes indebted onely to the lying report of those that sell them. But where their walls doe afford space for windowes, there their houses doe lose somewhat from the lustre of the other building. For commonly eyther coorse linnen, or oyled paper doe couer those places which are ordained for letting in of light. Which thing as it is vnsightly to the beholders, so it imprisons the eyes of the dwellers within; the bounds of their Parlour or gallery doores, farre

from the comelineſſe of the *French* or *Brittiſh* manner, where their windowes are made of glaſſe, affording them a free proſpect of that which is without, the beames of light dancing as it were cheerfully vpon them. Their temples alſo (for that is part of their ſame) doe not fully anſwere the expectation of ſtrangers. In images and figures is the greateſt luſtre, and nothing more beautifull then their altars. Purple & ſilke are accounted but mean ornamẽts in reſpect of the gold and gems of price, The pauements of different marbles are adorned with various workmanſhip, where in ſuteable colour the figures of flowrs, of birds, beaſts, are repreſented. Their pillars of marble are ſo wonderf

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large, as may almoſt bring that ſtone into a low eſteeme. But ſo rich a beauty in their building, is not brought to the height of comlineſſe, their roofs being not enough raiſed, and the free ſunne ſcarcely is admitted into thoſe dark places. Their windows are ſhadowed with much iron, and thicke pictures wrought vpon them: if any temple do chance to receiue light eyther by the rarity of buildings neere, or conuenient ſituation of the doores, then eyther with ſpreading vailes, or interpoſed walls they baniſh that benefit which the ſunne would giue, beleeuing, it ſhould ſeeme, that deuotion is raiſed by the ſadnes of night, and by the pleaſure of light vaniſhes againe. But whatſoeuer ſtrangers do eſteem of their publike buildings,

they cannot but wonder at and abhorre the ſordid meanneſſe of their priuate lodgings. For at their Innes being entertained with ſcarcie and ſluttiſh prouiſions, their ſtomakes are diuided betweene two contraries, loathing and hunger; beſides the naſtines of their chambers, and lodgings annoyed by gnats and ſtinging flies of many kinds, they haue grating Hoaſts, and high prices ſet vpon bad entertainement.

But fortune has found out for that country other blandiſhments to allure the minds of thoſe which trauaile thither. For eyther publike errour, or a fate befriending *Italy*, inuiteth young trauailers to that place from all parts of Europe; where enioying mutuall con-

tent

tent in so great a frequency, that which they owe to their owne society, they impute to the pleasure of that country. For if you loue men of your owne Nation, there you may finde them in abundance: or if you delight in the fellowship of forreiners, you haue faire choyce among multitudes of so many nations: especially the commerce of mindes so farre oftentimes obliging strangers, that to be fellow trauailers, is a greater enducement to entire friendship then to bee fellow citizens.

So from all Prouinces they come as it were into one body, and seeme to constitute one common and extemporary home. Besides, those young men that trauaile into *Italy*,

are for the moſt part wealthy, who there viſiting change of Cities, and ſtaying at the chiefe, trying beſides all kinds of delight in life and conuerſing, let looſe their minds, which are now in the midway betweene paſt child-hood and growing wiſedome, to a remiſneſſe void of curioſity: eſpecially, when being farre remooued from their owne countries, the face of domeſticke buſines doth not at all trouble them, and that tender age doth free it ſelfe from any weighty cares.

Beſides, they haue there all the delights of youth, the arte of horſe-man-ſhip, muſicke, ſpectacles, Comedians borne for that purpoſe, but ſcarce fit for Tragedy. When afterwards they returne into their

their owne countries, and are employed (as is fit) in serious affaires, what wonder is it if those pleasant times of recreation doe cause a sweete remembrance, and striking the minde with thought of those delights which are now past, and neuer to returne, it make them with loue to remember that place, where heretofore they enioyed so sweete a felicitie?

But great alterations, and a soile rich so often to the ruine of it selfe, hath quite banished from the Nations of *Italy* those first manners, which wee reade the ancients had.

Yet are their mindes capable of all affaires. Not with a rude heate, or naturall instinct, but artificially as

it were, and with skill they follow eyther vertue or vice. They make large promises of humanity, confirmed not onely by a compleat garbe of their persons, but words of most exact ciuility, and when they please, most powerfull in perswasion. They can also entertaine long friendship, and where they truely loue, esteeme no dangers in respect of that sacred league. But if they once hate (whether by their owne inclination, or some conceiued iniury) they are so much the more full of danger, in that hiding their disquiet thoughts, they deepely lay vp the memory of their offence or emulation. Sometimes being offended, they will descend to courtesie, that so by the priuiledge of friend-

friendſhip, they may more ſubtilly and ſafely worke their reuenge.

This hatred of theirs will outlaſt an age, and which is the moſt miſchieuous, their minds are neuer ſo eaſie wounded, as obſtinate in bearing the laſting ſcarre. Their mindes beaten to a ſadde and ſerious wiſedome, will ſcarce endure any ieſts, and cuſtoming themſelues to ſay or doe nothing raſhly or without conſideration, they weigh all men by their owne natures, and examine with too ſuperfluous a ſubtilty the mindes of others by euery word and looke, ſo that their owne paſſions doe perpetually puniſh them with cares and iealouſies. Beſides, the very opinion it ſelfe of too great a wiſe-

wiſedome is moſt vnwelcome euery where, that euen then when they doe deſcend into a free and vnſuſpicious familiarity, they are thought but ſpies, and cenſurers of other mens actions. Their impoyſonings and damned luſts I will therefore omit, becauſe they are vices not proper alone to *Italy*; ſeeing it were iniuſtice to impute that eſpecially to one Nation, which is ſo rife ouer all the Eaſterne and Southerne countryes. Seeing beſides that thoſe villanies are wrought in ſecret, and may not onely bee denyed by thoſe that are guilty, but deuiſed by others ill-affected to them. But there is a great and publike opinion of their cruelty, ſuch cruelty as robbers in that Country doe vſe to paſ-

paſſengers, and priuate enemies one againſt another; nature hauing ſo diſpenced the affections of men, that in thoſe Countries where there is generally the greateſt ſhew of humanity, there the rage of their theeues is moſt cruell, and the reuenge of enemies moſt barbarous. For *Italy* beeing moſt forward, and profuſe in obſequiouſneſſe and courteſie, reaches on the contrary the extremity of cruelty in the diſpoſitions of her theeues, and thoſe that are at enmity. The *French* which embrace friendſhip, not altogether with ſo much humility of words and geſtures, do remit ſomewhat alſo in their enmity of the *Italian* cruelty; nor can they bee ſo eaſily induced by impious murders,

to violate the lawes of nature; at the leaſt they account death the height of their reuenge, and make it not the goale or marke of pleaſure, to which by degrees of torture they would bring their enemies. Laſt of all, the *Engliſh* which want ſomewhat of the pompous ſhew of the *French* humanity, doe want much more of their barbarous cruelty. For *Engliſh* theeues are content with the bouty only: it is there a ſtrange and vnvſuall thing for theeues to kill: but with long piked ſtaues they knocke the paſſengers downe, wch cauſes in them onely a ſhort amazement, that neyther are they able to defend their goods, nor the theeues enforced to their ſlaughter, which often cauſes a bloudy bickering on both ſides. But

But *Italy*, though wholy enuironed by the seas, and the *Alpes*, and ioyned together by the community of one language, is notwithstanding diuided into many kinds of fashions and manners, according to the diuersity of the spirits that inhabit it. For hauing beene often conquered, and that piecemeale, and by diuers kinds of people, her inhabitants are not of one nature. Those stranger natures shee mixing with her owne, is, by that meanes, her-selfe seasoned with the fates of a forreine Genius. Besides, the seuerall formes and sorts of gouernment, into which euery part of *Italy*, after so many changes, hath composed it selfe, doe make much for the forming of seuerall dispositions in men. Rome

Rome it ſelfe by the furious inuaſion of many people, was long ſince throwne downe from her wondrous height of wealth and greatneſſe, as if the whole world had ſought from her a reſtitution of their ſpoiles. Nor euer did Change ſhew ſo prodigious a teſtimony of her power ouer the mindes of men, as when by ſloth and baſeneſſe ſhee ruined that great Empire, which ſo much valour and worth had rayſed. The City it ſelfe at this time vnder the Popes iuriſdiction, with a great part of *Latium* & *Vmbria*, and ſome neighbouring people, doth yet retaine mindes fit for ſo great an Empire, and the Maieſty of her Prince is more preſerued through all the world by writing, reuerence, and

and religious awe, then by the armes and valour of the old Romans. But all that farthest horne of *Italy*, stretch'd out into the *Ionian* sea, from *Picenum*, and *Formianum*, enuironed on both sides by the *Tyrrhenian*, and *Adriaticke* seas, is vnder Kings. The state of the kingdome is called *Naples*. No part of *Italy* is filled with Nobility of more haughty and proud dispositions. They are practisers of Armes and Horsemanship, louers of honour and studious of all magnificence.

In that other Coast of *Italy*, which first meetes with the *Adriaticke*, haue the *Venetians* built their City; when being depriued of the land-townes, in that waste of *Italy*, which *Attila* made, they were faine

to

to hide themselues in their fens and marishes. In that City, though the power and gouernment of the Commonwealth doe belong to all the Nobility in generall, yet the administration of it is in the hands of a few of their most ancient Senatours; a seuere and sollicitous gouernment, as must needes be, among so many potent neighbours, and wealthy Citizens of their owne, whose riches and greatnesse might tend to ambition, if it were not curbed. So their mindes by that discipline are corrected, and not onely not trained vp in the brauery, and state of Courts, but want also those delights and ornaments, which all the Nobility of other Countreyes doe vse and enioy, as Armes, horse-

horſemanſhip, and the like; beſides other elegancies and courtſhips which the cuſtomes of the age doe teach them. Laſtly, they are taught to bee wiſe, more for the publicke, then for their priuate, vnleſſe onely in this, that they are very diligent in managing their priuate patrimonies. Other Cities alſo vpon diuers ſhores of *Italy* had ſettled themſelues in the forme of Commonwealths, whom the ſtrength of fortune hath ſince depriued of the luſtre of that gouernment, which they from forraine ſeas had brought with them, and forced them to come vnder the protection of Kings and Princes.

In thoſe people there are mixt ſoules, and doubtfully hoouering betweene the deſires of

of glorious liberty, of which they yet retaine a ſhadow, or repreſentation and the neceſſary, yet heauy yoake of thoſe Princes, vnder whoſe protection they were forced to put themſelues.

But the *Lombards* both in their mindes and bodies haue mixed, as it were, the Image aud Genius of *France* and *Italy*; their countenances and garbes being compoſed to the faſhions of the *French* brauery, but yet retaining the *Italian* qualities, and filled on both ſides with the vertues and vices of both Nations.

The other regions of *Italy* are vnder the command of their owne princes; they are little States, and therfore to be gouerned

gouerned with the greater skill, as ſmall barkes in the midd'ſt of a wide Ocean. And ſeeing that in ſuch ſmall Prouinces the maieſty of a Prince cannot bee richly ſupported, but by great tribute and exactions, long and wholeſome cuſtome hath taught thoſe people not onely to bee induſtrious in getting of wealth, but alſo not to denie it to the vſe of their Soueraigne Princes.

But there is nothing ſo hard for humane diligence to attaine, but the excellency of an *Italian* wit will aſpire to it. From the meaneſt rankes of their common people many daily by happy induſtry doe aduance themſelues, both to great name and plentifull eſtates. No kinde of cares, or (it needs bee)

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no condition of humility will they disdaine, if it promise wealth; long paines and long hopes they will vndertake and foster: one of which, the pride of *Spaniards*, the other the suddaine and hot dispositions of the *French* will not endure. They haue deepe and able mindes for the gouerning of Commonwealths, and fit for any fortune; frugall men, and prouident of the future.

Many among them can write Latin, but not speake it so well. That language also which vulgarly they vse, though it bee nothing else then a mixture of barbarous words with corrupted Latin, yet both in speaking, and writing they striue to alter, as farre as they can, from all markes of the originall; and to

that

that end they draw backe the words into their throates, so that the roughnes of the sound, and contraction of words (for scarce do they come wholly to your eares) may seeme to bee nothing a-kin to the old Latin. After that manner hath *Spaine* also at this day infected her language, so that drowning the simplicity of words, with a confused harshnes, forced as it were from their brests, they lose the sweeteneſſe of many letters: but the sweetneſſe of learning doth not a little flourish in *Italy*, especially those parts of learning to which the liuely elegance of nature doth inuite them: which is witnessed by that faire plenty of their natiue poetry enuy'd by all their neighbour-nations; which hath made

sacred

facred the Poets names, burning in so many fained fires of loue, to the renowning of their supposed suffrings. For it is no matter whether they expresse themselues in their owne language, or in the old learned tongues, seeing it is the same rapture which leades a pure and rich wit in their owne popular eloquence, as well as in the ancient. For the *Grecians* wrote those things which their people vnderstood, and the *Romans* fitted the Greeke Comedies, and all the pith of *Athenian* eloquence to the eares of their common people.

Last of all, what shall we say of *Italian* Historians, those whose sincere and faithfull wisdome shall eternize their writings? or those that offend by

too

too much eloquence and partiality? but religion, and heauenly wisdome, as well as humane learning, with whatsoeuer is left in the custody of the Muses, was euer highly indebted to the wits of that Nation. And to conclude, you shall no where finde more true examples of sacred vertues, or abominable vices, then in *Italian* mindes: so that as one sayd of *Athens*, There growes in no place more venomous hemlocke; nor any where else are the Bee-hiues filled with extraction of sweeter flowers.

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The seuenth Chapter.

SPAINE.

THe farthest bound of Europe, as you trauell to *Lybye*, and the great *Ocean*, is *Spaine*, called in ancient times, from the situation of it, *Hesperia*, afterward *Hispalia*, from the name of a towne; and lastly by that name, which it now retaines. A spacious Land, enterposed alone betwixt the *Gaules* and *Affricke*, an Iland euery way, vnlesse onely there, where the *Pyrenæan* mountaines are the borders of it. A land famous heretofore for her fertility, but at this day by her great barrennesse, derogating from

from the credit of old Hiſtories.

The ſoyle is naked in moſt places, and couered ouer with barren lands, wanting water, & not clothed at all with graſſe or corne: but where the veines of water do runne along, affording nouriſhment to their corne and vineyards, it is wonderfull, how nature hath there bleſſed them: They haue in thoſe places ſo great a plenty, as doth almoſt recompenſe the barrenneſſe of the other grounds. You would thinke it ſtrange, that in ſome fields the husbandman receyueth his ſeede with increaſe an hundred fold. Their townes are not many, and in thoſe that are, they want prouiſion to entertain trauellers in ſuch a manner, as *France*, *Brittaine*, or *Italy*

can do. The inhabitants are constant in keeping still the ancient habits, and the very Genius of their forefathers. They are able men, and patient of labour, not such labour as belongs to tilling of the ground, or handy-crafts, but such especially, as is suitable to warre-like actions; as for example; Watch-fulnesse, hunger, thirst, and all kinde of sufferance that belongs to military discipline. For their mindes being constant in pursuing those hopes which they once conceiue, account it an especiall point of vertue, not to bee wearyed with misfortunes and dangers.

From hence in old time, was *Saguntus* so constant to the *Roman* party, renowned

ned for her ouerthrow, and the courage of their mutuall slaughter.

Afterwards, *Numantia* a small City, in respect of the greatnesse of her fame, a conquerour first of so many *Romans*, and lastly of it selfe. *Lusitania* also, vnder the conduct of *Viriatus*, with sodaine forces easily raised, and disbanded againe: And last of all, all *Spaine*, both in their fayth, and manners, fitted to the discipline of *Sertorius*, were able to weary both *Metellus* and *Pompey*.

While the *Spaniards* were yet barbarous, and diuided into many and rude gouernements, they were taught their owne strength by the *Carthaginians* & *Romans* warring against each

other: whose ambition *Spaine* suffered for, exposed as it were a reward for victory obtained against another state.

The forces of *Carthage* being subdued and expelled, the lusts, and couetousnesse of the Romans, and a loue to liberty, which the *Spaniards* then vnderstood when they had lost, did so stirre vp this rude and barbarous people against their conquerours, that *Spaine* was neuer altogether quiet, but almost euery yeere prouoking the armes of *Italy*.

Augustus Cæsar himselfe also iudged not that warre against the *Cantabrians* to bee an action of light import, and therfore committed not the managing of it to his Lieutenant, but was thire in person, as accounting

counting it a danger and atchieuement worthy of his felicity. Nor did the *Spaniards* in so many wars, and so much effusion both of their own and others bloods, think at all of forreine conquests, but striued only not to bee slaues themselues. At last, when they were accustomed to beare a yoake, the *Goths* and *Vandals* tooke them away from the subiection of *Rome*, making at the first a conquest for themselues, but afterwards for *Spaine* also, seeing they incorporated themselues with the Nation of *Spaine*. A fierce storme of inuasion came afterwards out of *Mauritania*, which lighted not onely vpon *Spaine* it selfe, but with the same shocke seized vpon *France*, spreading farre the strength

and violence of those inuading *Saracens*. But those Moores beaten out of *France*, and the neighbouring parts of *Spaine*, seated themselues beyond the riuers *Batis* and *Iberus*.

The other parts of *Spaine* were diuided then into seuerall and emulous principalities: vntill (being the first pledge of vniting *Spaine*) *Isabella*, who succeeded her brother in the Kingdom of *Castile*, was married to *Ferdinand* the *Arragonian* King, and by the greatnesse of her dowry, brought *Arragon* a Prouince, that had euer beene more free then befitted a true Monarchy, into due subiection; afterwards with conioyned strength they vanquished the Moores, and chased them a-

gaine

gaine into *Affricke*, who almoſt eyght ages had poſſeſſed *Spaine*.

Vnder the felicity of their reigne did that *Columbus* diſcouer *America* in the Weſt-Indies, and that the affaires of *Spaine* with proſperous fates might bee fully exalted on all ſides, the Nether-lands alſo, by the new alliance of *Philip* of *Auſtria*, were added to the *Spaniſh* Empire.

At the ſame time alſo, the forces of *France* being driuen out of *Apulia*, did *Ferdinand* make himſelfe maſter of the the Kingdome of *Naples*.

Immediately after, did *Charles* the fift, honoured with the title of *Roman* Emperour, bring to the growing affaires of *Spaine*,

a new reuerence, and ripeneſſe as it were, and by proweſſe ſubdued the Dutchy of *Millane*.

There remained now out of *Spaine* onely *Portugall*, diſioyned both by name and affection from it, a Kingdome enriched by their traffique with the Eaſt-Indies, to which with bold aduentures they ſailed along farre and dangerous *Affrican* ſhores, & eſtabliſhed a Kingdome there by conqueſt, and plantation of rich colonyes: but this Prouince alſo was by the death of King *Sebaſtian*, vnited againe to the body of *Spaine*, and were brought vnder the ſubiection of *Philip* the ſecond, the *Spaniſh* Monarch.

But by theſe increaſes of the *Spaniſh* greatneſſe, the manners

manners of the people are not changed, but excused rather. For there was in them, at the time of their meaneſt lowneſſe, a pride befitting the greatneſſe they haue now; to which thoſe people were come by the inſtinct of their owne nature; and that is the ſpring of vertues and vices in them. They haue graue mindes, and ſwelling high, but mixed with a kinde of weightineſſe, which makes them not raſhly carried vpon diuers things; they know as well how to vſe their victories, as to obtaine them: ſo being conſtant proofe againſt all dangers, they are not vanquiſhed by time, nor wearied out. Nor can you remooue from thoſe breſts, which it once poſſeſſes, this *Spaniſh* grauity, which na-

ture

ture and art together haue made. But the words in which they magnifie themselues and their Nation, loathsome to the hearers, and often traduced by satyricall Comicke-writers, their countenances also, gestures, and conuersations, suitable to their swelling language, intolerable to all but slauish and vanquished mindes, doth adde almost a kinde of hatred to their seuere Maiesty.

The *Spanish* souldier is better in an army, and especially in their *Phalanx*, then in a single encounter. That wealth which patrimony hath acquired, and often denyed to the necessity of their temperate-made bodies, they loue to spend vpon apparell, and so display it in ostenta-

tions

tion ; with a confidence of themselues alwayes great, but most of all among fearefull or patient men. They are wonderous frugall, not onely in the heate of their owne climate (where their bodies enfeebled by the excesse and violence of Sunne, make them desirous of little food:) but all other places where they eate at their owne cost. A little quantity of bread with hearbes and sawces of no great price, will commonly suffice their Nature so hardly accustomed ; but at another mans charges, none are more free for the mirth of feasting, and then there can bee no courses of rich banqueting, which with their eyes and hands they do not fully examine:

mine but in the moſt wretched and low eſtate of pouerty, a *Spaniard* cannot forſake his ſupercilious pride. There was a poore cobler lying on his death-bed, who, when his ſonne borne to the ſame fortune, came vnto him, and asked him if he would command or counſell him in any thing before his death; with his laſt languiſhing breath thus anſwered his ſonne; Remember onely (quoth he) that thou keep vp thy ſelfe in that port that beſeemes the maieſty of thy family. But a poore woman of *Spaine* ſeemed to mee a miracle of pride in this nature. Shee was clothed, but ſcarce couered, with ragges and patches; and accompanied with three children, by miſerable begging ſhee ſuſtained her hun-

gry

gry life: shee lighted by chance vpon *French* Gentlemen, and one of them mooued with compassion of her apparent misery, said vnto her, I will ease thee, woman, of part of thy burden; giue me the eldest of thy sonnes (hee was ten yeeres old) hee shall attend vpon mee, and bee put onely to easy seruices befitting his age; and, when hee growes vp, shall at my charges bee bound to any trade that hee best likes. The woman answered, God forbid, Sir, that, although you see mee in some wants, I should condemne my sonne to so low a baseness, whom neither you nor I can tell, to how high fortunes he may bee ordained and by what eminent vertues auailable hereafter to his country. It were better for him

him (if so the fates will suffer) to bee pined with hunger, then to descend to seruice: a thing abhorred by braue mindes, especially vnder a forreine master.

But the *Spaniards* oftentimes coozen the world, with a false shadow of those great spirits, which naturally, or vnaduisedly they make shew of. For many of them contented with a poore and meane fortune, seeme not at all to erect their thoughts to any aduancement beseeming their supercilious garbe. From hence it comes to passe, that you shall see them for small pensions grow old in garrisons (as it were in their owne houses) entertayning no cares of that height that may bee suitable to their ambitious

language.

language. Which things the mindes of the *French* can leſſe endure, being alwaies erected to any new atchieuement; nor the diligence of an *Italian*, watchfull alwayes to lay hold vpon a future fortune.

The ſtudies of learning ſhine not in *Spaine* with that luſtre, which this age hath reſtored to the naked and poore Muſes, when euen that ſpirit of erudition, which ought to tell all parts of the ſciences, did ſeeme altogether loſt and vaniſhed. For there neyther eloquence in the Latine tongue, nor the elegance of Poetry, nor that profitable and ſolid knowledge of Hiſtory, and ancient rites is at all regarded. They keepe their old and (almoſt barba-

barbarous) manner of attaining learning.

Philosophy they study, they loue diuinity, and despise not the knowledge of the Lawes and Canons; but cannot endure that those learnings should be dressed at all in the Greeke or Latine elegancies; as supposing that by those adulterate varnishes (as they thinke them) the lineaments of manly learning would languish away. There was lately a man of no meane fame in learning, who being commanded by those, to whom he applyed his seruice, to professe diuinity in *Spaine*, became shortly of low esteeme there, by that infamy (as it were) of the best learning, and was constrained earnestly to beggeleaue of his patrons, that hee might quit

quitt the place, and finde out some other country more capable of his humanity. The especiall shew of learning there, is after the Germane manner, in long volumes containing little matter; and that also taken with a superfluous labour out of other authors. This is the bane of their vniuersities. In their other Cities the commerce of the sciences is not so frequent; (vnlesse onely, that for the honour of their Realme, they loue to haue bookes written in their owne language,) So that it may altogether seeme, that for an ambition of warlike fame, they haue on purpose put on this misbecomming forme of cruelty and neglect toward the Muses.

They haue deepe and reser-

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ued mindes, fitted for slow projects: hence will they vndertake long mines, and vnseene, as it were, by the besieged, most wisely esteeming of warre and peace, according to their owne occasions.

They frame their mindes according to their wealth, and by this inuincible art to triumph ouer the most valiant Nations. But their most vsuall matter is, for procuring of reuerence, to vse the names of the celestiall powers, and by pretence of religion, to conceale their ambition from the peoples eyes: imputing their desires and couetousnesse to Gods cause, and fighting, as it were, for him, they conquer subtilly for themselues. With that preface-like beginning before all their at-

tempts

empts, they enter, as it were, into a Scene or Tragedy.

Ferdinandus and *Isabella* taught to their successours that sleight, which is now growne their country fashion. For they would euer finde out in their enemies some cause of publike hatred, that they in all their warres might bee thought executors of the wrath of God.

When they negotiate with Princes of other nations, they chuse not their Embassadours out of the number of their Dukes or *Grandes*, but from the solitude of some monastery or other. And so, besides the charges abated in the Embassage, such kinde of Agents procure to the businesse faith,

fayth and reuerence. This thing in thē is moſt worthy of praiſe, that the *Spaniard*, though men be ſcarce there, and his land not populous, can containe ſo vaſt and ſcattered an Empire with gariſons, and colonies of his owne natiues; and by the name of the Indies, together with his great brags, his wary and induſtrious fraud, can vphold a fame of wealth in his Exchequer. But that pomp of garb and language in the *Spaniſh* Nation, is therfore leſſe diſtaſtfull, becauſe it ſeemes not at all affected or put on by thē; but to ſwell of it ſelfe euen from the inſtinct of nature. Of which, euery motion, though declining into vices, I know not by what Genius, doth ſeeme becomming.

But that you may not thinke them

them vnworthy of such a fashion of mind, as may seeme fit for the personating of a Tragedy, they are great haters (at least in publicke) of all sordid basenesse; they are great louers, for the attire of their bodies, of neatenesse, and the Nationall fashion in their apparell.

Their weapons (as the chiefe orrament of a man) though they want meate, they will both keepe and weare.

They haue nothing of vaine folly (except onely their bragging) eyther in discourse or other conuersation of life.

Their mindes are subtill, and fit for all things, nor are they so ignorant of what is in themselues, as desirous to deceiue others with a glosse of pompous words.

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The beginnings of their discourses and friendships, they do adorne with a colour of the most gentle humanity; and you in those beginnings, may accost them in the same mild behauiour; but when they afterwards come to their superciliouspride, you must encounter them with the like Maiesty.

But if thy slender fortune doth enforce thee to bee a parasite there, then with a bashfull silence and applause thou must feede their mindes swelling about their owne, or their Nations greatnesse. And then also, but that thou already coozen'st him, thinke not, that thou hast him fast enough; but remember, that as her feedeth thee

with

with mighty promises beyond all credit, so thou art tyed to promise him greater seruices then euer thou canst be able to performe, supporting thy lyes with proportionable boldnesse.

The Eighth Chapter.

HVNGARY, POLONIA, MOSCOVIA, and the other Northern Nations.

PANNONIA, when the affaires and ſtrength of the *Roman* Empire were in declining was ſeized by the *Longobards* and *Hunnes*, who beſtowing their name vpon the Province, called it *Hungary*.

The bounds of this Kingdome, according to the ſtrength and puiſſance of their Monarchs, haue beene often changed; as fortune hath eyther contracted them,

them, or extended them vpon the neighbouring countries. It is watered with the riuers, *Sauus*, and *Tibiſcus*; *Iſter* augmented from many fountaines, doth runne thorow it, and at *Taurunum* in his wide channell doth receiue the *Sauus*.

The country from *Polonia* and *Germany* extendeth it ſelfe vnto the *Dacians* and *Maſia*; but at that ſide, which lyeth toward *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, the *Alpes* doe bound it. A ſoyle happy in all increaſes. It reſtores Corne in great abundance. How rich it is in paſture fields, their Cattell which are ſold about the world, doe ſufficiently declare to other Nations.

A hundred-thouſand head of Cattell, or there-abouts

are yeerely ſent from thence into *Germany*, and ſo to the countries bordering vpon *Germany*.

Some parts of *Italy* alſo are fed from thence with the like prouiſion.

Their wine is moſt rich and generous, not much vnlike to that which growes in *Spaine*.

The Climate alſo is healthfull enough, ſaue oneiy that about *Autumne* a diſtemper of the vnconſtant ayre (hourely changing) doth breede diſeaſes, but moſt cruelly vpon ſtrangers. Their nights are chilly with extreme cold, which hot dayes ſucceede; at noone both parching their grounds, and ſweltring with heate the bodies of men. Whom in the euening the cold aſtringent ayre againe ſurprizes vnawares.

The

The earth in the bowels of it hath many metalls both of different natures and estimations; and gold it selfe is roled vp on the sandy shores of many of their riuers; and the same riuers most fruitfull in breeding of fish, which are cheape there by reason of the plenty.

The nature of the people is therefore more hardly to bee learned, because in this age they are o'rwhelmed with afflictions, and scarce left to their owne dispositions; for they are oppressed on one side by the *Barbarians*, which haue made themselues masters of a great part of it; on the other side auxiliary Souldiers leuied amongst all the natiõs of Europe, haue by their multitude and long aboade in that Countrey,

and long aboade in that countrey infuſed, in ſome meaſure, their manners and diſpoſitions into the people.

I can ſuppoſe it ſhould ſpring from no other cauſe, then continuance of warre and calamity among them, that the Country-Boores haue quite loſt their innocent ſimplicity, and are returned ſo extremely cruell. For without any difference they lye in waite, both for their owne ſouldiers and the enemies. And if any doe happen by night to ſtray from their quarters, the Boores are ready to ſurprize the prey, and rob (with moſt vnthankfull villany) thoſe ſouldiers, who through all dangers doe endeauour their preſeruation; and neuer leaue them but naked, and in all extremity.

Their

Their Noble-men (as is fit) are of a brauer and better disposition, their mindes and visages framed to magnificence, and their whole garbes composed to a pleasing Maiesty.

They vse Gownes and such robes as the Easterne people, but especially purple, or skie-coloured. And this attire doth wonderfully become the men, a short sword commonly adorning their gowned-side.

They are excellent at subtill and great counsels, and of a courage equall to it; especially if the project lye in suddaine, short, and stolne enterprizes.

Their chiefe Nobles are of great wealth, and retaining (though in a Monarchy) very

great markes of true liber
ty.

They are attended, according t
their riches, with store of Client
and those exceeding faythfull i
their seruice to them: And n
greater care at all possesses them
then not to forsake any of those
prerogatiues, which they from
many ages haue maintained in-
uiolable. For that reason is their
valour more constant in figh-
ting against the *Turkes*, who
vnder one Law of seruitude doe
oppresse all families, of how
great blood or eminence soeuer.
Without this, the inclination of
their mindes might well bee fea-
red, that they would choose
Kings from other places then
from *Germany*. For the *Ger-
mans* and *Hungarians* (a thing
ordinary in so neere a neighbour-
hood)

hood) are at great emulation betwixt themselues.

Their railing at each other in their common discourses at home are very cruell; and with great curiosity they are both busie in discouering or inuenting vices in each other.

The *Hungarians* are louers of Horses, and haue excellent good ones; they are curious in their armes and attire, cuer to delight and pompe.

They had rather fight on horseback then on foote.

They are most greedy of honours, and haue a great ambition to bee feared by others.

By imitation of the *Italian* arts and dispositions, they are thought to haue learned the *Italian* vices, and to perpetrate their wicked reuenges

with the same arts, and the like maliciousnesse. You would suppose them most easie men to embrace friendship; but whether it be true or false none can be better Iudges then they themselues which enter into those friendships; seriously considering whether they haue deserued so to be beloued: or whether that Nation so skilfull in taking of aduantages, doe pretend friendship, the better to perpetuate some intended mischiefe.

There is a Magistrate among them of great note, whom they call the *Palatine*: he of himselfe hath not power to decree any thing, but may resist the King when hee determines to enact any publicke matter, which is altogether voyd if the *Palatine* gaue his voyce against it.

it. To him the most of them giue great honour, as to the supporter of their liberty, and one opposed against the Regall power; no otherwise then of old the *Roman* Tribunes were ordained as curbers of the Consuls iurisdiction. From hence might you see that the great and swelling spirits of that Nation, would neuer brooke a hard, and vnlimited power ouer them: vnlesse they be forced (as it appeares in those *Hungarian* Prouinces which the *Turke* now possesses) to an awe of their soueraigne Lords by so sterne a discipline as doth for euer reaue them of any hope of liberty.

The *Illyrians* and *Dalmatians*, whom we call the *Istrians* and *Slauonians*, are seated vpon the

the shores of the *Adriaticke* sea. Towards the Land they border vpon *Pannonia*. That Region is vnpleasant on the backe of the great Mountaines, vpon whose ridges cold Winter doth perpetually tyrannize. But that part of the Country, which is seated in the valleys, is of a milder temper, and well stored with Villages and Castles.

They are Nations that liue vnder the command of others, and hauing beene long accustomed to diuers Lords, doe for the most part follow their manners and dispositions. Part of it, is subiect to the dominion of the *Austrian* Princes; much of it that lyes by the sea-shore, the *Venecians* are masters of; and the rest is vnder the Empire of the *Turkes*: from hence it comes that their habits

and

and manners are partly *Germane*, partly *Italian*, and partly barbarous, according to the seuerall Genius's of their soueraigne Lords.

The Region is almost not visited by any, saue onely that in their hauens at some times they doe harbour ships, which are sailing from *Venice* into the East, and returne from thence againe into the *Adriaticke*.

The other places doe not at all inuite strangers.

Those souldiers which are leuyed from thence, are renowned for valour and great audacity, especially in the *Turkes* army; and few but they, are ascribed at *Constantinople*, into his guard of Ianizaries.

At the North-side of *Hungary* is *Poland*, which stretcheth from thence to the great *Ocean*, and bordereth vpon *Russia*. A country, which though wonderfull spacious, yet no where almost hath any mountaines in it, and from plainenesse of it, is so named; for plainnesse in the Scythian tongue is called *Pole*.

Their fields lye out in great Champion-plaines, which in the Winter are couered with deepe Snow; but when the Snow is gone, are very fruitfull in Corne, not onely for the vse of the inhabitants: but their graine transported by sea to many countries lying along the *Baltike* seas, doth supply the dearths and barren season of other Nations. Their Winters are raging, and strongly congeale both their

grounds

grounds and riuers: becauſe the violence of Northern winde, wanting the repercuſſion of any Mountaines, hath, as at ſea, a free paſſage in the open ayre, beſides their neereneſſe to the Northerne *Pole*, where the force of the Sunne is very feeble, eſpecially in Winter-time.

But Nature, for their aſſiſtance, hath afforded them great and ſpacious Woods, which doe not onely furniſh them with Fyring to expell the cold; but within their couerts doe nouriſh beaſts, whoſe skins for cloathing afford them furres of greateſt price and eſteemation. This double aſſiſtance haue the *Polanders* againſt the tyranny of their winter. But their woods do yeeld them another benefit; in which there are at many places a

wor-

wonderfull number of swarms of Bees.

They are wilde Bees, hired, or kept by the care of no man; vpon plaine Okes, or trunkes of other trees they hang by clusters; there do they build their houses of waxe, and fill them within with most delicious hony. From this alone is the countrey exceedingly, and with great ease, enriched. Their waxe is merchandise to other countreys, and of the honey they themselues doo make a kinde of drinke, which they esteeme very delicious. Some prouinces of *Poland* are too full of riuers and marishes, in so much as that in Sommer-time they are scarce accessible: but in winter, when the waters are frozen, they haue Sleds,

in

in which they passe with speed vpon the ice. With those therefore they trauell the country, & that is their time of traffique with forreine merchants, who come to buy their waxe, their furres and whatsoeuer else is of price and value in so cold a country.

They want stones, for the most part to build them houses; their walls are of timber, and their houses roofes couered with thatch, except only their chiefe Cities, and palaces of Nob'emen, which are adorned as curiously as that countrey can possibly afford. But the Poles, vnder a rough clime, liue hard liues, nor are the dispositions of the people composed to the elegancy of

our

our age; and from thence also are they of more cruell natures.

Their Innes to receiue ſtangers, are farre different from the manner of our Countreys: they are brought into a roome altogether vnfurniſhed, and commonly where the wall is digged thorow to afford light, and ſtand open to the violence of winde and winter. There are no beds for the gueſts to lye vpon, nor tables for them to eat on; but the walls are full of tackes, where the gueſts in order may hang thoſe burdens, which they haue brought with them; and the ground is ſtrowed with ſtraw, which is entended for beds in thoſe Innes. Therefore whoſoeuer doe trauell thorow that countrey, do accor-

accordingly prouide themselues as if they remooued their dwellings with them; their meat, and other prouision, together with their beds, they carry in Waines with them; that being entertained in those naked lares, they may with their owne prouision defend themselues against cold and hunger.

They are a Nation borne to crueltie and licentiousnesse, which they call liberty; insomuch as they can scarce yet bee brought to abrogate a Law vnspeakable barbarisme, which for many ages hath continued among them.

By that Law it was appointed, that whosoeuer had killed a man, should bee absolued from all feare of iustice, if hee did

did throw vpon the carcasse of the dead man a certaine summe of money, which in that Law is mentioned. Nor would they so basely haue prized the blood of man, if out of the cruell fiercenes of their barbarous Genius, they had not iudged the murder of man a slight offence.

They doe abhorre the very name, not onely of slauery, but of obedience to a iust and lawfull Scepter.

Their King by force of armes is compelled to obserue their Country-lawes,

The Nobility haue bestowed vpon themselues most mischieuous prerogatiues, by which they may safely abuse and hurt each other; because the King hath not power enough to punish their offences in that kind.

kind. They are wedded strangely to their owne fancies; nor doe they take to themselues a greater licentiousnesse in manners and vicuill conuersation, then in opinions of religion, and heauenly matters; of which, euery man without any feare will both thinke and speake as himselfe listeth: Which proceedeth surely from an abominable confidence they haue of themselues, and are ashamed to learne the best wisedome from another mans direction, from hence it is, that their mindes at this day are diuided into so many schismes, & haue among them all the heresies which polluted former times: euery man is eager in praising of his owne family, especially if hee light vpon strangers altogether ignorant of his fortunes.

They are apter to bee outragious, then deceitfull to any man, and themselues easyer to bee ruined by fraud then force.

Beyond *Poland*, *Russia* lyes, ouer which the Prince of the Moscouites doth reigne. The Empire is named from the city Mosco; which by reason of the multitude of inhabitants, and seat of their Emperour, is the head of *Russia* also. It extends in a long and spacious tract from the *Ocean* to the *Caspian* sea; and borders vpon diuers sides both with the *Polonians* and the Swethlanders; vpon other sides, the *Tartars* are their neighbours; a Land condemned to long and piercing cold. Their ground, which the Snowes had hid, is not restored

till

till the Spring bee farre spent; and then succeeds a cruell Summer, which striuing (as it were) to redeem those delayes which the long Winter had there made, doth ripen their fruites with a most suddaine heate, but not so kindely as the trees in our Countries. It is almost beyond beliefe, that Melons should ripen there, which among vs require not onely a very hot, but a continued Summer. There are many woods in the countrey, and in them beasts of most precious Furres. They haue store also of waxe and honey, which are the chiefest merchandises of that country: There are many inhabitants, but yet not answerable to the largenesse of the Land which they possesse.

They

They are a Nation borne for seruitude, fierce vpon any shew of liberty, but quiet, if strictly kept vnder, and refuse not the yoke. They doe freely confesse thēselues slaues to their Prince, and that both their estates and liues are at his disposing; the *Turkes* are not in a more sordid and base subiection to the Scepter of their *Ottoman* Emprours. They esteeme also of all other Nations, according to their owne Genius. Strangers also that either by chance or on purpose doe come into Moscouia, are condemned to the same yoake, and forced to bee slaues to that Prince; who if they goe away, and bee caught againe, they are punished as fugitiues. The great men, although themselues bee slaues, are very proud

toward

toward the common people; and they very fearefull of the great mens frownes. The people are reported to bee so ignorant of learning, that few among them haue the ordinary prayers of the Church vnto God, by heart. They are fitter for warre, then peace, & for the most part are in armes; either to repell the inuasions of the *Tartars* on one side: or on the other, eyther to inuade or keep off the *Polonians*: in this age they haue beene much busied in ciuill warres among themselues. Their battailes consist all of horsemen; they vse no foot for this reason, because they place the moment of all their designes in celerity: with great speede they both assault & fly. When once they begin to feare, they are brought to vtter desperation; so that when they

flye from a battell, if the enemy ouertake them, they are farre fró making of the least resistance, and doe so absolutely yeild themselues into the Cóquerours hand, that they doe not so much as beg their liues. They are remisse in punishing of theft, though seuerely they execute robbers.

It is a wary Nation, and very cunning in deceiuing others; nor are they ignorant that Merchants doe in that kind suspect them; whom that they may get to haue the better opinion of them, in their commerce oftentimes they feigne themselues to bee other countrymen.

They are exceedingly giuen to drinking, and besides their country drinkes, they haue Wines brought them from forreyne parts.

Their

Their Wiues liue in great bondage, detained ſtrictly at home, worthy alſo of greater affiictions.

They are (according to report) of ſuch incredibly ſeruile diſpoſitions, that they meaſure the kindnes of their husbands, by the number of the ſtripes they giue them: and neuer thinke themſelues ſo well, as when they fall vpon men of fierce diſpoſitions. A meane fellow of *Germany* trauelled into *Moſcouia*, and (if in ſuch a trifling tale you deſire his name) he was called *Iordan*. He continued there, and liking the country, married a wife in it. Whom whilſt he loued dearly and by all kindeneſſes ſought to gaine mutuall affection from her; ſhe with a ſad deiected

countenance did often ſigh, and expreſſe other tokens of a ſorrowfull minde. At laſt when hee demanded the cauſe of her ſadneſſe, profeſſing that hee had beene wanting in no office of loue to her. Why (quoth the woman) dos you ſo cunningly counterfeit affection? doe you thinke I know not how little you regard me? and withall ſhe began to make great lamentation. He amazed at this, began to embrace her, and ſtill asked her wherein hee had offended, and if perchance hee had done ill, hee would hereafter amend the fault.

To this his wife anſwered, Where are thē thoſe ſtripes by which thou teſtifieſt thy loue? For husbands among vs by beating their wiues, doe expreſſe their

their loue and care of them. When *Iordan* heard this, amazement a while suppressed his laughter, but afterward when they both vanished, hee thought it his best course to vse his wife as shee had prescribed; and not long after, hee tooke occasion to beate the woman: shee appeased with stripes, began then earnestly to loue and obserue her husband. But hee could keepe no measure, but grew more cruell then his wretched wife desired: and at last with an vnhappy stroke (they say) broke her thighs and her necke also.

Germany, where it is washed by the *Baltick* sea, borders vpon the *Cimbrian Chersonesus*, and through a small distance of sea surueys

ueys the other Ilands, which make vp the same kingdome of the *Cimbrians*. It is called at this day *Denmarke*; from thence is but a short cut to *Swethland*; to which on the North side *Norway* adioyneth. And these are the regions, out of which so great Nations, famed both for their multitude and victories, rushed like a whirlewinde ouer all Europe. From thence came the *Cimbrians*, *Teutones*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*; by whom *Italy*, *Libya*, *Spaine*, and a part of *France* were sore afflicted.

But of later times those Colonies that came from thence, were called *Normans* (that is, *Northren* men.) By these *Britaine* was long possessed; and much of *France* wasted

with

with fire and ſword; but there atlaſt, after many dangers, peace was compounded, and they ſeated in *Neuſtria*, which they afterwards called *Normandy*, ſo that nothing in Europe eſcaped their fury; and being terrible to all, they were commonly accounted to bee inuincible. How it ſhould come to paſſe that ſo great a multitude, and a ſpring (as it were) of Nations ſhould at this day grow drie, it is vncertaine. But ſure it is, that now in thoſe countries, townes are very rare; and they are ſo farre from ſending Colonyes abroade, that when they haue warre, they are enforced to vſe forraine ſouldiers. I could beleeue that thoſe barbarous Nations, frugall in old times in their bar-

raine ſoile, and ignorant of vices, encreaſed in Children; and becauſe the vnfruitfulneſſe of the ſoile denyed nouriſhment to ſo numerous a people, they did often ſend out their young men to ſeeke out new plantations: which then men of all ages did deſire. But now by that mad vice of tipling and ſurfets they haue ouerwhelmed their genitall ſtrength, and can beget inhabitants for no more then their owne countries. They exceede the *Germans* in drunkenneſſe. When they awake in the morning they fil their ſtomachs with a wonderull hot kinde of drinke, which by the fire is extracted from Wine it ſelfe. When they are thus refreſhed, the fumes of that hot liquor aſcending into their heads, doe cauſe

cause sleepe; their rest is but short, and then they returne againe to drinking. Then they drinke Wine or Ale, as many a like it. That time that remaines till noone, they bestow in businesse.

At last they meete at dinner, which by continued discourses they make no bones many times to prolong till supper time; from thence they are carried to bed, neyther apt to doe nor receiue wrong.

They breake no promises, when their hands are giuen.

There are among them many footesteps of the *German* language, but more of their *German* manners and behauiour.

Norway is but thinly stored with inhabitants: their liues

they spend for the most part in hunting; no country affordeth Timber more fit for masts or plankes for ships. It is a rude Nation, and with most men infamous for witchcraft.

They by report can sell winds, which those that saile from thence doe buy, equalling by a true prodigy, the fable of *Vlysses* and *Aeolus*.

They haue cruell winters, and very dangerous to those that are not aware of them. A benumming aire, with little or no feeling, doth seize the body; that before you perish, you can scarce know that you are perishing.

From this plague, by a memorable example, was He deliuered, whom God had ordained to bee Monarch of all *Britaine*,

saine, Iames, as then but King of Scotland.

Fredericke the second King of Denmarke had espoused vnto him his daughter Anne; but she sailing to Scotland, was often cast backe vpon the coast of Norway, by the force of chance, and euill spirits that raised vp windes at the command of a witch; who afterward suffered for her offence.

The King being young, and a Louer, impatient of delay, resolued to saile vnto his Wife, and in midst of Winter entered that sea so infamous for Ice: after hee had long struggled with weather and tempests, he arriued in Norway. And not long after, the shippe that carried him, as if it had beene set vpon the land, hard frozen vp with

with yce remained immoueable.

The thing was told to King *Iames*, who had presently a desire of seeing this vnusuall sight. For about none of his *Britaine* shores doth the sea freeze.

There was (the weather being faire) a hauen not farre from the Kings lodgings; he went therefore along, the windes neyther blowing, nor the aire (as it seemed) very violently cold; and beholding a while the frozen sea, hee returned into his chamber, suspecting nothing of the danger of the Winter. But when hee drew neere to the fire, one of those that stood about him, looking by chance vpon the Kings right hand, perceiued that

that finger that was next the thumbe, to bee blue, pale, and bloodleſſe; and knowing the condition of that aire, cryed out to the King not to come neere the fire; the ayre, ſir (quoth hee) has hurt you, and benummed your finger, being in this caſe, the fire with an vnſeaſonable heat will quite vndo it. The plague of this cold muſt bee expelled by another cold. The King wondering at this, denyed at firſt that he was hurt at all; for hee felt no paine: but hee ſhortly perceiued, that hee was well aduiſed. For the finger grew ſtiffe and dead, loſing all ſence and heate of blood.

When hee deſired remedy, they told him there was at hand

hand a certaine cure, which with a ſhort, though cruell paine, ſhould reſtore his health, and that hee muſt indure it, vnleſſe hee would rather loſe his finger, which was ſtricken with that peſtilent Winter: then there was ſuddainely brought him a veſſell full of ſnow, not melted by the fire, but thawing ſoftly by the heate of the Chamber. Into that, the King aduiſed by the inhabitants, thruſt his finger: when on a ſuddaine, a cruell paine creeping thorow the ioynts of his lately benummed finger, had almoſt put him out of patience.

His paine was that, which firſt taught him how ſence was reſtored to the finger. By this meanes the King was made

whole:

whole; and being admoniſhed of ſuch an vnlook'd for miſchiefe, hee could afterwards more eaſily auoyd it, or cure it.

For not long after, his right care, as hee rid, was taken with the ſame malady.

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The

The ninth Chapter.

TVRKES and IEWES.

THe *Turkes*, a barbarous people, borne to the destruction of Cities, Arts, and Learning, haue prospered more by our vices, then their owne vertue. This publike calamity of the world, by barbarous violence, multitudes of men, and obedience to seuere discipline hath growne great. Their beginning was from *Scythia*, which wee call *Tartaria*. From thence they were called as stipendary aides in the dissentions of *Persia*, or of their owne accord forsooke their barren country, inuited by the neigh-

neighbouring regions fertility, and with a wonderfull religious obedience followed the fortune of him whom they made their captaine. To him they gaue both themselues and their estates, eyther neuer acquainted with liberty, or now voluntarily throwing it away from them.

Nor are other Nations more constantly obedient to their good and lawfull Princes, then they to that horrid tyranny, to which they haue condemned thēselues; vnlesse that now it is thought, the extremity of that reuerence is by degrees abated vnder Princes vnworthy of it: or that the affections of people being too violent, are neuer constant.

They

They first seized that part of *Asia*, which heretofore was saide to abound with all delights; and from thence vnder *Amurath* saying into Europe, with the aide and shipping of the *Ligurians*, that famous *Greece*, the ancient seat of the Muses, became their prey. But they by the harshnesse of their dispositions striuing against humanity, continued still in the ferity of their ancestours, that you may know, a ciuill Climate may harbour sauage people. Whilest they stuck in *Bithynia*, or afterwards in the shores of *Thrace*, on either side the two emulous Empires of *Greece* and *Trapezus*, which, vnlesse they could vanquish, would vanquish them, stirred vp their barbarous courages, being then

in

in the heat of their first victories: where (to our shame) they ruined those mighty enemies, and chose *Constantinople* taken by Mahomet, the chief seat of their Monarchy, beeing delighted with the situation of the City in the borders of *Asia* and Europe, as also the conuenience of a most stately hauen, and the fame of that Empire which so many ages had there flourished.

That which remained in the East, was either possessed by the *Souldan*, who to his kingdome of *Ægypt*, had ioined *Syria*, and the neighbouring regions: or was vnder the *Persians*, whose Empire from *Euphrates* extended to *India*. The *Persian* was to the *Turke* an open enemy, and in continuall

and

and cruell warre with them about the bounds of their Empire. They both made league with the *Ægyptian Souldan*: but *Selymus* the *Turke*, thinking that the *Souldan* did more religiously obserue his league with the *Persians*, made that an occasion of warre against him. Neuer in so short a warre was there gained a greater victory for spoiles, for men, and Countreyes; and which is more, a constant possession of them. For by two set battels, and one tumultuary fight, all the dominions, wealth, and armes of the *Souldan*, were by fortune translated to *Selymus*. From hence, hee grew more terrible to *Persia*, and began with a scornefull pride to ouerlooke the wealth of Enrope.

But

But returning from *Syria* in triumph, hee ended his life by a sharpe disease in the same place, where once hee fought a battell against his father *Baiazethe* as if his fathers *Manes* had claimed a reuenge. But presently *Solyman*, more furious then his father, inuaded *Pannonia*, and taking *Buda*, which is the head of *Hungary*, hee presumed to besiege the *Austrian Vienna*. But the pleasures of *Constantinople* did by degrees mollify the mindes of those Princes, and auert them from our ruines. But wee in the meane time weakened with warres among our selues, and emulation of nations; blush not to expect from the *Turks* hands warre or peace, daring to offer nothing against them, but

but contented if not prouoked, wee ſend Embaſſadours to thoſe tyrants of *Conſtantinople*, to ſue for leagues and purchaſe peace; whom they either through pride, or hate to our religion, eſteeme not worthy of their audience, or ſcarce their ſight; and thinke it toomuch below the dignity of their Empire, to ſend: (for a commerce of mutuall friendſhip) their owne Embaſſadours into Chriſtendome. But as the felicity of ſo many victories hath raiſed, almoſt beyond humane greatneſſe, the maieſty of the *Turkiſh* Emperour; ſo, (which is wonderfull) it hath made the people wretched, by whoſe hands and ſtrength the Empire was raiſed. For when the *Ottoman* Princes were yet low,

low, and contained within their campe, almoſt their whole nation, then ſurely what prey or dignity they would diuide, muſt bee diuided among thoſe ſouldiers, nor had they any beſide thoſe *Scythians* to ioyne in friendſhip with. But their wealth increaſing, and they free in choice whom of their owne or conquer'd nations to preferre to gouernements in the commonwealth, their greateſt honours are neuer beſtowed vpon the ancient race of *Turkes*, the poſterity of thoſe ſouldiers, from whom the *Ottoman* family receiued together with the Empire, a power to bee now ſafely vnthankfull to them.

Wee cannot tell, whether through diſdaine, or cuſtome (which

which among barbarous people (is in stead of religion) or through secret policy for security of their Empire, it come to passe that great gouernements, dignities, and places of iudicature are conferred on none but those which are borne of Christian parents. From *Dalmatia* especially and *Illyricum*, Boyes and Girles are taken from the bosome of their parents, to bee cloistered vp in *Constantinople*. There they change into a mad superstition the religion of their fathers, which they cannot remember, and beeing circumcised, are trained vp in the religion of *Mahomet*. And this company so taken by rapine, are to the *Turkish* Emperour as a seminary of Captaines and Princes, to whome the guard

of

of his person and the strength of his Empire is committed. From hence are taken his Eunuchs for neereſt ſeruices, and therefore there not contemptible. From hence are his wiues and concubines, and alwaies the mother of that heire that muſt ſucceede in ſo great an Empire. Out of that band hee chooſes husbands for his Aunts and ſiſters, to beget Couſins and Nephews to him. And ſo farre is it growne aduantageous not to bee borne of the *Turkiſh* race, that thoſe chiefe places in the Empire, which thoſe that are borne of Chriſtian parents doe hold, neuer deuolue vnto their children. And for no other reaſon, then that they were borne to the Lawes and Rites of *Turkie*.

This doth that Nation suffer so much deiected euen in their owne iudgement.

The *Turkes* are of a rusticke and base nature, not worthy of liberty, which they care not to acquire. The Law of *Mahomet* forbids them to polish their rude minds with any humanity of learning, that so being ignorant, they may be drawne with more ease to the madnesse of that Law which hee hath prescribed.

Their chiefest care is about their houshold stuffe, their flockes and heards of cattell. Their buildings are scarce for vse, much lesse for ornament, either yet mindfull of their *Scythian* originall, and that wandering kind of life, or else because they are but tenants at will, and

at

at the Princes pleasure must remoone not onely their dwellings, but their countreyes. By an inbred affection they doe wonderfully adore their Emperour; they call him the shadow and image of God.

The cruellest in that Nation, and the greatest haters of Christians, are not those that are deriued by a long pedigree from the old Turkish race, but those that lately haue reuolted from vs; the other (they say) are of a milder nature, but farre from our dispositions.

There is no where more subtilty in poysoning: and it is scarce credible with how much art they doe extract and temper the strength of venomous things; nor doe they destroy any man that way, but in a won-

derfull ſubtile manner, euery man in that country alike viciouſly ſtudying how to giue or auoyd death by poyſon. Who would beleeue it? they require not a taſt nor touch, a little aire corrupting the vitall parts will bring death, and that a quicke one. A *Baſhaw* lately had bought the gouernment of *Aleppo*, of ſome that were gracious in the Court. It is a City not two daies iourney from the *Cilician* ſea, enriched by the frequency of merchants, and traffique from the Eaſt; from whence merchandiſe is brought, partly by the riuer *Euphrates*, and partly by land-carriages. From whence the Gouernours get great wealth, and rob the Prouince as licenciouſly as they buy the place dearely. When this man there-

therefore was sent to his gouernment, another with greater bribes had corrupted the same courtiers, and was appointed to succeede the other, who had scarce as yet tasted the swecteneſſe of his gouernment. The Gouernour speedily hearing of this newes from his friends, was (as is likely) sadly strucken with it; hauing as yet scarce got any thing to recompence his coſt in buying the place. Hee therefore calls a counsell of his friends, and among them complaines of the loſſe of his estate, and the perfidiouſneſſe of the mercenary Court. He seemed in doubt, whether hee should obey the letters which called him backe to *Constantinople*, or resist his successor by armed force; and so with a

new ſumme of money eyther to obtaine pardon for his boldneſſe of the *Conſtantinopolitan* courtiers or elſe not to ſurviue his honour, and eſtate. Whilſt in theſe cogitations hee was anxious and raging, the faithfullest of his friends call'd him aſide, & bade him to do nothing raſhly; he tells him if hee reſiſt his ſucceſſour, it would be cenſured rebellion; that in their ſtate there was no crime ſo hainous, as not onely to deny, but delay obedience. Take (ſayth hee) a later counſell; meete thy riuall with gifts; and leſt hee ſhould ſuſpect thy bounty, complaine to him that thy fortunes by this vntimely ſucceſſion are almoſt ſunk, yet thou preferreſt nothing before obedience. Entreate him to receiue the Prouince

uince which he is sent vnto, and accept, as a pledge of friēdship, those gifts, which thou in hospitality bestowest on him, and that hee shall make thee sufficient requitall for them, if hee giue thee his letters to *Constantinople*, signifying in them that thou without delay did'st resigne (according to commaund) the gouernment, priuiledges, City, and Prouince, into his hands; among thy gifts (quoth hee) there shall bee an handkerchiefe, which I haue, of rare workemanship, but anointed with a most mortall poison. If thou hold this neere to his face, as to shew him the elegance of the worke, that the least insensible vapour may but come to him, I will promise thee hee shall neuer gouerne

in *Aleppo*. The Gouernour takes the counsell of this subtile fellow, and with great pompe meeting his successour, brings him into his house. There, among other blandishments of his treacherous liberality, hee shewes to him the fatall handkerchiefe curiously wrought with silke and gold. The other with ioy gazes at the instrument of his death. From thence they goe to supper; but the traitour subtilly tells him, that betimes in the morning hee would beginne his iourney for *Constantinople*, and got from him letters the same night, witnesses of his obsequious entertainement of him, for the wretched man was not a little taken with the courtesy of so bountifull a predecessour; and so when the night

was

was well spent, they went to bed. In the morning the new Gouernour not able to resist the poisonous ayre which hee had drawn from the handkerchiefe, lay in his bed a dead man; nor did the cause of his suddaine death appeare to any, but to those that contriued it.

When this mischiefe was done, the murderous *Bashaw* sends letters to *Constantinople*, both those in which his successour had signifyed his kinde entertainement, and others of his owne, to signifie the others death, entreating that now his gouernment & Prouince might be cõtinued to him; which he easily obtained, fortune rewarding with felicity so great a wickednes. In this cruell wickedly wonderfull art, you neede not more

admire their exquisite study and wretched subtlety in poysons, then the corrupt manners of the Nation, people sold by magistrates, law and right measured by money, and other mischieses of the baseſt tyranny; there scarce lie any actions against bribery and oppression: the great magistrates doe too cheaply esteeme of the iniuries which the common people suffer, and thinke them not worth reuenging, who by continuance of slauery, and education according, dare not so much as repine at the misery of so abiect a condition.

I wonder at nothing more among the *Turkes*, then that men that so constantly auerre the immortality of soules (that they may from thence lesse va-

lue

lue their liues) doe giue themselues licence to act those crimes, which Nature, euen without a Law, would abhorre. Yet to relieue the poore and strangers, many of them are very forward; for these offices of humane compassion, houses euery where are builded, for the sicke or weary to abide in; and maintenance, eyther from the publike charge, or priuate mens Wills is giuen to them; nor are wee, though they thinke vs, and call vs dogs, debarred of that humanity and relieſe. They doe wonderfully reuerence their parents; and though at any time they be iniurious to them, yet the remembrance of life receiued from them, preuailes aboue the sharpenesse of the iniury. They eate much meate,

meate, and are more carefull in adorning their bodies then their mindes.

For all those lusts, for which they are infamous, there is lesse fault in them then in their filthy prophet *Mahomet*, who by his Law forbids not such concupiscēces too much inbred in mortall men, though restrained by the lawes of God and modesty: so did he thinke to allure that military people, but yet (as beeing Easterne) effæminate in pleasures. So that, by a wretched ignorance of vertue, they are exercised in these vices, as being allowed to them. Nor is cruelty seuered from their lust, especially in their Prince, who challenges to himselfe, aswell the blood, as the wealth of his subiects.

The

The Turkish Emperour passing thorow Constantinople to hunt in the adioyning fields, spyed at a souldiers doore a young youth wantonly glancing his effeminate eyes. The lust of the wicked Prince was kindled, and hee commanded the Youth to bee taken, and carried into his palace. But the souldier that abused the boy, loue ouercomming his allegiance, ventured himself to rescue his Catamite, & with a drawn sword resisted the Princes ministers. But what could one doe against a multitude? The Emperour that vsed to be bloodily enraged at any disobedience of his men, yet censured not so ill this souldiers violence of loue; but gaue him a farme in the country as a price for the losse of his boy, and com-

manded his stipend to be increased. Immediately the Prince burned in lust with this Catamite, and kept him not onely for his pleasure, but ranked him highly in his friendship. Which when the souldiers heard, hee desired much to see his once-deare loue now in such high honour. Therfore by entreaty and gifts hee preuailed with the guard at the doore, that when the Emperour dined in his garden, hee closely at their backes might see him and the youth together (for hee was alwaies admitted to banquet with the Emperour.) At the appointed time hee came: the Emperour after that country-fashion sate downe on the carpets, and by him the impure Catamit, proud with too great rewards of his vnchastity. The

The ſouldier by chance vnwarily ſtept forth from his place, ſo that the Youth ſpied him, who remembring his old ſeruice, ranne ſpeedily to him, and kiſt his hand. The Emperour, when the Boy returned, ſtarting vp, and viewing him with a ſterne front, and furious eye, asked him whither (falſe as he was) hee had turned. Sir (quoth hee) to my old maſter; whom I could not chuſe but ſalute at leaſt. Immediately the Emperour mad, that hee had a Riuall, with a ſhort ſword, which hee wore about him, thruſt the Boy thorow. But when he ſaw him fall, hee fell vpon him to the Earth, and with his breſt couering the wound, hee bewailed his death. The ſouldier preſently was com-

commanded to dy, as being the occasion of so great sorrow to his Prince; but hee breaking thorow the tumult, escaped by the fauour of the guard, and lurked in concealement till the Emperour was appeased. So that no tyes of friend-ship can bee safe from such fell tyrants, who valew not onely their owne safety, but euen their pleasures, aboue the liues of their subiects.

But the warres in that Nation are now but moderately followed, and not with the fierceneſſe of their forefathers, since their Emperours were idle, whose presence heretofore put greater courage into the souldiers. Their *Prætorian* bonds in *Constantinople*, whom they call Ianizaries, discontinued from the exercise of true warre, in idleneſſe

and

and city-delights, are growne to a mutinous, but slothfull boldnesse. Hence the proud souldiers beginne to lose their discipline, as not fit to endure either labour or felicity. These were the vices that made the *Romans* heretofore sinke vnder their owne greatnesse; and this Empire perhaps, the windes now ceasing, which swelled her sailes, will sinke vnder her owne weight and vices. But those of them, which gouerne *Ægypt*, especially the garison at *Grand-Caire*, do with great praise exercise the glory of their old warfare; for, remooued farre from Court, they are exercised to daily labours, in curbing those troopes of robbers, which from the mountaine-tops vse to make rodes into the valleyes. But

But theſe ſouldiers valiant onely againſt a troope of flying theeues, and yeelding enemies, if they ſhould fall vpon the ſtrength of our armies, would perhaps vſe the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes, in which they excell, not ſo much for battell, as for their owne ſafety by flight.

That vſe of the bow (the ſpeciall ſtrength of the *Turke*) which was once ſo formidable to the world, is now neglected; I ſuppoſe, becauſe this art cannot bee attained without much ſweate and labour of the body; and at this day, the ſouldiers ſpoyled with eaſe, and diſcipline ceaſing, will not buy valour at ſo deare a rate. Their bowes are ſhort, and cannot be bent but by thoſe that are skilfull;

full ; but they discharge their arrowes with much more violence then our Gunnes do their leaden bullets. We saw indeed (and could scarce credit our owne eyes) a piece of steele, three inches thicke, pierced by a little arrow. And no lesse wonder was it, that a shaft wanting an iron head, shot from a bow, thorow the body of an indifferent tree, appeared at both sides. This art was taught to a man of great account among vs (when hee was at *Constantinople*) by an old souldier of *Solymans*; who confessed, that skill by the slothfulnesse of his fellowes was quite lost, and that there were scarce three in that vast Empire, which were carefull to preserue in themselues that fortitude of

their

their anceſtours, hee ſayd, the reſt had weake bowes, and onely dangerous to light-armed men.

If wee would make vſe of the benefit of God, and their vices, what were more eaſy then at this time to wreſt thoſe wealthy Prouinces out of their barbarous hands, their old fury, which they accounted valour, being now forgotten? This do thoſe poore Chriſtians, who groane vnder the yoake of their barbarous tyranny, expect frō vs, being a great multitude, but deſtitute of armes and leaders; this, our temples and rites of religion which they wickedly haue aboliſhed; and laſtly, humanity extinguiſhed, and countries once richly tilled, now rude and deſart, nor euer, vnleſſe

vnlesse by our aide, able to regaine their old lustre. But if any be discouraged, to thinke of so many attempts, and so much wealth heretofore vainely wasted, whilst our ancestours striued to redeeme *Syria*, *Palestine*, and *Aegypt* out of the hands of *Saracens*, and as often with great forces taking expeditions against the *Turkes*; let him consider that they were more vanquished by emulation among themselues, then by those enemies. To let passe the Grecian Princes who were alwaies ill affected to our Western soldiers, how often haue wee by vnprofitable hatred wasted our owne strength against our selues? It were not fit to shame this age with late examples, nor curiously to rehearse old calamities.

Th

The morrall dissensions of the *French* and *English* in those warres, shall bee argument enough of griefe and caution.

Richard the first King of *England* surnamed *Cor de-lion*, led an Army into *Syria*, and hauing reuenged the wrongs which *Cyprus* had done him, hee had driuen the *Souldan* to extreme feares, who was aduising to deliuer vp *Ierusalem*, and so make peace with the Christians; when loe, *Philip* King of *France*, surnamed *Augustus*, returning himselfe from *Syria*, ill affected to King *Richard*, marched with his army into *Normandy*, (*Normandy* was then vnder the crowne of England) and assaulting his townes, some he tooke by force, others by feare, and faction. So King

Richard

Richards intent on the publike quarrell of Christendome, was called home into Europe to preserue his owne estate; and the *Saracens* at that time were by meanes of the *French*, deliuered from the Christian army; who were afterwards beholding to the *English* for the like benefit. For scarce an age after, when *Philip* of *Valois*, King of *France*, with all the strength of his Kingdome was bent vpon this Pious warre, there came to ioyne with him the Kings of *Nauarre*, *Arragon*, and *Bohemia*, and many besides, whom eyther the strength of their kingdomes, or the holynesse of the warre had inuited.

Their Fleete lay at anchor, which carried forty thousand armed

armed men, and victuall for three yeeres; their army to march by land was 300000. men. But this so great preparation, and hope of the Christian world, was quite hindered by *Edward* the third, King of *England*, who at that time began to lay claime to the crowne of *France*, as the inheritance of *Isabel* his mother. So haue we turned our strength against our owne bowels, and vanquished by our selues, haue giuen triumphs to *Turkes* and *Saracens*. These are most sad chances, but great is the comfort, that wee haue yet strength enough to destroy that barbarous Monarchy. Nor need all the Christian Princes ioyne in this; there are many of them that are alone sufficient to gaine this victory.

Wee

Wee neede no innumerable Army nor a Fleet to orespread the wide *Ocean*. A man of singular iudgement and proweſſe, and by long experience, well acquainted with the *Turkiſh* affaires, was not affraid to promiſe to his King, that if hee would giue him a Fleete, and an Army of thirty thouſand, with pay for two yeeres, and victuall for a yeere, hee would reduce vnder his dominion *Peloponneſus*, *Eubea*, & the greater part of *Achaia*; which vnleſſe he performed, he deſired that that Army which was committed to him, ſhould take puniſhment of him for deceiuing the King, and by a moſt cruell death reuenge the raſhneſſe of his vaine promiſe. The ſame hope of victory there, and ſcarce with ſo

much charge, not long since was giuen to a great King by a most expert Captaine, a man both for dignity, and blood, worthy of the charge of so great an expedition. But death preuented his great designe, and doubtfull it was, whether by poyson or no. Both these Captaines grounded their hopes vpon the strength and warlike discipline of our souldiers, the number of Christians there, and their prayers imploring our armes to their relieſe; and lastly, the slothfulneſſe of the *Turkes*, who hold by no other title the fame of fortitude, then the memory of their ancestours not yet wholy expired. But it was the aduice of those Captaines, that this firebrand must be throwne into the ene-

mies

mies bosome; and not stand to defend our owne bounds, in which, the greatest reward of victory is, to remooue the enemy from our Countrey, who will afterwards returne more fierce vpon vs. But if subdued, our owne bondage and our Countreyes is present; and therefore they would not haue vs stay in *Hungary*, but marching speedily to encampe our selues in the midst of *Greece* or in *Thrace*. This kinde of making warre, many of the ancients vsed; so *Hannibal* in *Italy* conquered for *Carthage*: and *Scipio* in *Affricke* for the *Romans*; so lastly, the *Turks* themselues haue conquered those Nations, whom now they gouerne, by carrying the warre

into their countreyes. Nor did the *Franks* by a slow remooued war, as it were, at the entrance salute *Gallia*, nor the *Normans Brittaine*, a kingdome stronger then themselues, but broke into those countreyes, sharing (as it were) before the victory, the reward of victory.

Besides many helpes which wee haue to this warre, our ancestours wanted: They sought out the enemy in the farthest East, then swelling in his first heats of victory, whom wee may now finde in the bowels of *Hungary*, and the shores against *Italy*, waxing old as it were in a full, and shortly-ebbing fortune: which wee may know by this, because hee doth not encrease: And wee are taught by the errours of our

ancestours,

anceſtours, ſo that thoſe very things, in which they failed in thoſe expeditions, may bee all cautions to vs of better diſcipline.

Now alſo the enemy vrges neere vpon vs, that wee may almoſt conſult only in this, whether wee would vanquiſh or bee vanquiſhed. Young *Achmet* who is now their tyrant, thinks of warre, and threatens *Tranſiluania*, either wearyed with his idleneſſe, or to gaine eſteem among his ſubiects, he bends his thoughts vpon this expedition; from thence ariſes a great danger to vs, when military diſcipline, languiſhing among them, may by theſe incitements bee raiſed vp againe, and a Prince hitherto ſlothfull, and voluptuous, fleſhed with the taſte of

victory, may come on more hotly to our ruine.

They say that *Charles*, the last Duke of *Burgundy*, spent the first part of his age, not onely free from warlike Actions, but in a wonderfull loue of quiet and repose; afterward, when *France* was fired with that warre, which they called the publike good, his affections were turned so quite contrary, that no part of his life was afterwards free from military action. God forbid that *Achmet* should be raised to such resolutions. But who in so great a danger, would not thinke it better to take armes, whilst they haue not yet shaken off their Lethargy; then to stay till they grow expert by vse, and swelling with victories, should from

from the middest of *Italy* and *Germany* (which God forbid) aduance their fatall ensignes, to impose a common slauery vpon vs all? But if *Achmets* owne lusts doe call him backe to his slothfull idlenesse, not extruded by vs, nor hearing our Armes within his Countries, surely wee shall owe this (almost shamefull) safety not to our owne vertue, but the gift of Fortune.

After the *Turkes*, let vs come to the *Iewes*, euen in this regard, because they esteeme vs below the *Turkes*. Wee asked a *Iew*, Of whom hee had the better opinion, Christians or *Turks*? and could not but wonder at the impudence of the fellow: for in the place where hee was, hee durst not speake ill of Christians

ans, yet hee could not hide his minde; but certainly (quoth hee) the *Turkes* are content to bee circumcised. They are a vagabond and scattered people, Lords of no Prouince; a nation eager and able in getting wealth, strenuous in all merchandise, and thriuing by wicked vsury. Whersoeuer they are, they serue; and their mindes tained, that were heretofore so fierce in maintaining their liberty, do now stoope by custome to this low condition. They haue euery where mixed their manners, and to their owne disposition, (in which with greatest obstinacy they continue) they adde the Genius of the place where they are borne. Their mindes are obstinate in their owne superstition, and scarce can they

(how

how much soeuer they counterfet) bee truly conuerted to our piety.

Their bodies are commonly said to stinke, and that not without reason, for they vse a strange nasty carelesnesse both in their houses, and apparell, and some strange, vnusuall vapour exhales from them. In greatest wealth they neuer rise in apparell, either fearing our enuy, or louing a parity among themselues. This is a great argument of their seruitude, that they are allowed no where to possesse land or armes.

And iustly do wee take away strength from so hostile a people, who, if they could preuaile, would punish vs farre worse.

Now

Now hauing reckoned vp, and called (as it were) to a censure all those people, whose mindes and manners it behoueth them to know, that must conuerse in publike among men; let vs come to the seuerall kindes of wits and affections; which as they doe not altogether, or of right possesse any one Nation; so, scattred in all Lands, they abide in many men, and are both the seedes and the nourishment of vertue and vice.

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FINIS.

The Tenth Chapter.

That beſides the Spirit of the Countrey, euery man hath a proper Diſpoſition and affections giuen him. The chiefe of them may be found out, but all of them cannot be Written. Of Wits that are ſtrong at ſodaine jeſts and Sentences. Of others that flow in a naturall and facile Eloquence. Of men of a ſlow, and deliberate Wiſedome. That they are moſt perfect which are placed betwixt thoſe two. Whither thoſe mindes are beſt which are fitteſt for letters, or adminiſtration of publike buſineſſe. Delicate

Wits are not so fit for continuall and daily labour, as those of a slow and depressed capacitie.

AS vnder those Climates, which by reason of much cold, and moist ayre use to produce people faire and gray ey'd, yet some notwithstanding, as if neere neighbours to the Sunne, are of duskie visages: and in those Regions, which being scorched with the Sunnes violence, set a blacke and thicker tincture on the bloods of their inhabitants, the faireneſſe of some men differs from the usuall tawninesse of their Country: So amongst humane people some mindes are rude and rugged, others partake nothing of their countrie

tries barbarisme. There are some grosse mindes in a cleare ayre, and some cleare mindes in an obtuse climate: Nor hath any region the influence of such happy or malignant starres, but that she may finde a patterne of all vices and vertues in her inhabitāts. For Nature hath granted, besides the Genius of their native Countrey, something proper to every man: and by a great myracle, among so many ages, and names of people, hath found out for euery man his owne lineaments, that may distinguish the habite of his visage and minde from the likenesse of other mindes and bodies. From hence can no man sooner by contemplation finde out the wonderfull play

of nature, varied in the minds and affections of so many men: than a painter in his tables can include the formes and similitudes of all bodies. Yet let it bee lawfull for us to survey, as eminent trees in a thicke Wood, the chiefe kinds of dispositions and affections, of which men use to be composed, and by them wholly swayed, and notably distinguished from other men.

Nor shall it bee a superfluous meditation to recount, and examine so many different rankes of men; in which every one may finde himselfe, and see as it were in a sequestred mirrour, what himselfe would eyther wish or feare to bee. And since no kind of

dispositon

diſpoſition is ſo neare bordered upon vice, and leaning to it, but by the raines of prudence may be reſtrained, and kept in the right way: and none ſo neare a kin to vertue, but by ill uſage may bee corrupted; it will be good to contemplate the affections of men as they are attended with good or ill, and ſearch out how farre they may be hurtfull or vaileable; leſt we be miſled immoderately to praiſe ſome; and too unjuſtly to undervalue others.

As we recount the diſpoſitions of men, thoſe of a ſuddaine and extemporary wit ſhall be our firſt; thoſe, that as often as they liſt to ſpeake, can in a ſuddaine facetious diſcourſe run through an argu-

ment. These men, if they want just weight (as many times it is) as neyther eloquent by study, nor wise in counsell; but then onely Orators or Philosophers while they talk, may bee valued at such a rate as those wares which being vaine and useless of themselves, doe by an adulterate varnish cosen the beholder. Of them there are two kinds; some in private and close discourses excell with a short and stinging wit, ever intent upon the follies of other. The other sort comes nearer to the dignity of eloquence, and whensoever they please publikely or at home to discourse, their wit is like a torrent, and their memory doth opportunately prompt them with all things

things that they have either seene or read. The bravery of both these sorts is admired not onely by the ignorant, but sometimes by those of better learning: when they see many jests and sentences with great ease and suddainnesse flow from such men, which themselves not without much paines and study are able to expresse.

For whom can we imagine to come nearer to the image of industry and elegance, than those suddaine witted menne (to beginne with them?) What is more elegant than to finde a pretty sentence for every argument? What more courtly than to answer all that is done or spoken either with

a ſuddaine jeſt, or ſuch a wiſedome as being eaſie and at hand, is pleaſing for the quickneſſe of it? If this gracefulneſſe bee joyned with a faire perſonage, and a ſecure (though not immoderate) boldneſſe, it will be prædominant in all ſocieties, and bee pleaſing even to thoſe men which are hit by the jeſts; nay the noyſe of it will drown the true and exact wiſedome of ableſt ſlow men. But this felicity in ſpeaking is troubled with its proper diſeaſes. Take them from priuate company, from ſuddaine and broken ſentences, from bandying of wit, to an argument of longer diſcourſe: then out of doubt thou ſhalt contemne the barrenneſſe of their empty

mindes, not being furnished for true and lasting wisedome: Nay if those very concise sayings and fine flashes, which thou admirest in them, were written downe; that they doe not onely come forth by fits and vanish againe, but be examined by judgement; how idle and foolish would those things seeme, which by a vaine præiudice, and grace of celerity did before deceive us? Therefore in those men there is no deepe and lasting riuer of wit, but suddaine flouds of Nature; for as small waters from high springs, straightened in their passage, doe fall with the greater noyse downe: so these sparkes of wisedome, which would presently expire, unlesse they

were caught, doe flye with a more vigorous noyse out of the custody of these narrow mindes, which are onely happy in such a kind of abortive wisdome.

But the other sort, which are copious in longer eloquence, and fitted continually with an unexhausted store of words and sentences, are famous men among the people, when they are heard in publike assemblies, Churches, or pleading. They are pleasing also in private society, if they bee able to bee sometimes silent. But as all living creatures by a secret instigation love to be doing of that thing, in which they are most able; so these men especially delighted in their owne elo-

quence,

quence, wherein they excell, can hardly cõtaine themselves within a meane when all occasions of discourses are; that you may iustly wonder, that such absurd men should speak so well. When their tedious discourse is done, and they see those men whom their discourse hath wearyed, to looke cheerfully, they doe not consider that the other are onely glad to bee dismissed from the trouble of their tedious talke, but thinke them ravished with a pleasant admiration, and goe away resolved to entertaine them in that manner againe the next time they meet. These large minds, opened by Nature it selfe to the *Series* almost of all things, are never exact, or thorough-

thoroughly ſoaked in knowledge, but curſorily they taſte of all things. And as an Echo can neyther keepe in thoſe laſt words which it receives, nor dive any farther into the ſentence; ſo theſe men with a wonderfull eaſe, and before they are aware (as it were) are guided by Nature to the firſt glympſes of all things and Seiences, but they are ſcarce able to doe, or (almoſt) to deſire any thing perfectly or exactly in them. I ſhould thinke it a great argument that it is only chance & heat, not iudgment of the mind, which brings from them ſo great a copioſity of things, and undigeſted elegancies; ſince whatſoever they chance to diſcourſe of, they never

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faile of this pompous plenty of words and sentences. But whensoever their memory, even in the very course of their speech, prompts them with any thing, they presently divert to that, and anone to another matter, as it happens; and at last, lost in many subiects, they remember not the originall of their discourse.

They therefore beeing of wandering minds and setled in nothing, are usually unable to attaine not onely to the highest Prudence, but even the common discretion of other men. Some of them are immoderate prasers of themselves; others not helpefull to their friends nor themselves in those offices, which

diligent

diligent and ſetled induſtry ſhould be fitted to. They are for the moſt part unconſtant, and as they waver in actions, ſo they eaſily fly from thoſe opinions, which they ſeemed ſtrongly addicted to. Yet notwithſtanding, as they carry a great ſhew of a polited ſpoſition, adorned with all kindes of ſcience; in matter of fame and wealth, they oftentimes poſſeſſe the rewards which are due to true wiſdome; eſpecially if they doe underſtand their owne faults as well as abilities, and know ſubtilly how to hide, at leaſt from the common peoples eyes, their ſpots and imperfections. This eſpecially is attained, if they can governe themſelves in talking, and not wander

wãder whitherſoever their deſires carry them; and, becauſe by eloquence, as the beſt condiment, all things are made gratefull to the eares, let them by a nice deflection fit divers diſcourſes to divers men, and alwayes of that nature as may bee able to goe beyond the hearer; as for example, among Souldiers or men ignorant of antiquity, let them diſcourſe of divine points, of the rites of the ancients, of the originall of people and Nations, and whatſoever hath a ſhow of the moſt graceſull curioſity in the ſciences; among Schollers which have onely lived in ſtudy and contemplation, not employment; let them talke of the fates of people and Rulers, and the Ge-

nius

nius of Princes; and lastly contend with no man in his owne Art. Nor is it unpleasing in the mixing of discourse, to fall upon those things which are strange and unknowne to the society; especially since new things are pleasing, and we conceive usually a higher, and more reverend opinion of that which we doe not know. These Oratours are in least danger when they converse with men of a low and narrow disposition, who reverence every thing as sacred and miraculous, which a bold eloquence puts upon them. Therefore they alwayes take those parts which, according to the conditions of the hearers, they thinke most advantagious to their

their fame. Which is therefore easie to them, because their diffused wits are capable of some instructions in all arts and sciences. Nature, & little use enabling them to speake not improperly in all things; though they cannot bee sayed to bee learned in them, but onely not to be ignorant of them.

But for such Oratours, to write, is commonly as hard and fatall to their fame, as to speake is easie and gracefull to them. For to that easily fluent eloquence the strength of judgment is seldome ioyned, which must continue the stile gracefull to posterity. For their prompt, and almost turbulent mind, when in that leysure, which is giuen to

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Writers, it revolveth it selfe, is overladen with the multitude of fancies that meet, and confusedly oppressed with its owne wealth, can neyther write all which it doth invent, nor iudiciously elect the best.

Lastly, the way of writing is so different from that of speaking, and requiring other kind of Nerves, that euen he, who by a strong eloquence could freely run over what he list, in writing doth make but vaine stroakes, and such as men in their dreames attempt. Yet blinded and corrupted with their owne and others flattery, they doe many times, by an itch of writing, destroy that fame which they had gotten by eloquence. They should doe better for them-

themselves, by farre, to keepe the world in a long expectation of their writing; than to publish bookes to the hazard of their fame.

By these cautions, that lively and spreading minde, may conceale his owne weakneſſe from the peoples eyes, and riſe in an opinion of wiſedome, whether hee bee able to governe himſelfe (which you ſhall not often ſee) or will admit counſell, and bee quiet at the perſwaſion of his friends: as thoſe, that are but halfe drunke doe yet know that they are not ſober, nor will they with too ſtubborne and obſtinate a confidence refuſe the admonitions of their friends.

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Contrary to theſe men is another ſort, who ſeeme at the firſt ſhow as farre from that vertue which is truely in them, as thoſe eloquent men doe from the imperfections, to which they are borne. Theſe men when there is occaſion to ſpeake ſuddainely, have a ſpeech tardy and hard to come off. They doe often ſticke, and are ſquibbed with ieſts and taunts, which like little darts, are in daily diſcourſe throwne againſt them by thoſe ſuddaine and nimble witted men. Nor doe their words onely come ſlowly off: but when their opinion is required, they are to ſeeke, and doe not ſuddainely find what to determine. But when their mind is recollected, and reduced

ced into it selfe to meditate, they can dive with subtilty enough into the depth of affaires and businesse, and conceive fit words to expresse their meaning. There is in them a deepe strength, opinions true and profitable, not adulterated w^th Schoole-sophistry; but most worthy, if they be schollers, and use to write, to be delivered by themselves to posterity. But in this fortune hath dealt ill with them, that since in the first entrance into speech or businesse, they resemble men of a dull and narrow soule, they are oftentimes by most iniust preiudice neglected and contemned. Therefore the greatnesse of their minds being sometimes unknowne, doth want the favou-

favourable hand of Princes to advance them into employments and honours worthy of their industrie, even as the lustre of most precious wares, if they be wrapped up within base bundles, without a title, can draw no customers at all to it. Therefore for those men it is a most profitable course, to make their way well, that their inward worth of mind may be knowne and those Clouds removed which Nature had placed in the entrance to it. And this they may attaine unto eyther by writing (for what is that else but displaying a Table of the Soule) or by dayly exercise to stirre up the edge of their slow wit, that it may bee knowne to bee as great and

strong

strong as it is; and last of all by as inward and long a familiarity as they can, to ioyne themselves to those great men, who by that long experience may not onely understand what abilities are in them, but advance them when they know it.

Betweene these inconvenient extreames of gravity and levity, is the most worthy discretion, and fit to reach the height of humane dignity. They have a moderate eloquence, then shewed, when it is needfull and more perfect it is, when they have time and study: but in their familiar conversation a discourse ready and cleare, not troubled at all with hesitation. A strength of iudg-

ment

ment not very much involv'd and slow; but though it be good on the suddaine, yet after delay and consultation it is farre stronger. This is the man is built for vertues, and made to expresse private and publike wisedome; or if hee give his able mind to vice, the weight of such an extraordinary villany, which way soever it leane, doth fall with great danger.

But great mindes from those which are darke and ignoble, are in this distinguished by nature; that the first knowes his owne dignitie, and does all things freely, with an erected (though modest) spirit, ever contemplating somewhat that is eminent and full of vigorous ma-

iesty;

jesty : but the close and obscure mind condemnes it selfe to bee imprisoned in narrow cogitations and counsels, never daring to depart from his fearefull humility. In small matters, not exceeding the measure of his mind, hee is exactly diligent ; and there is fitted to that disposition a kinde of policy, not noble and high, but such as we see in the least and weakest creatures, carefull to keepe their owne.

There are some among learned men, who eyther favouring their owne endowments, or deceived with the benefit of learning (which all but the very *Barbarians* know to be wondrous great) deny that any mind is to bee

esteemed great, but that which is capable of letters, or can possibly attaine to just perfections, unlesse it bee adorned with them. By this meanes they exclude from the ranke of magnanimity and true humanity, men famous for publike vertues, and borne to governe people, if they be (forsooth) unfit for the subtilty of learning: a great errour, or rather madnesse; for they may on the cōtrary more truely affirme, that no man is fit for civil affaires but one cōceived in the riches of nature: but many vain and superfluous witted men in the Schooles have arrived evē to the highest praise; such whose nature confined, as it were, within the boūd of some one science,

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is dazled at the splẽdor of that profitable Prudence, to which all other sciences must give place; unlesse you thinke not him more truly wise that can play the *augur* among his Citizens, & fitly compose the cõmotions of the people, than him, who by a perpetuall contemplation doth nothing but observe the eclipses of Sun & Moon, the courses of the stars, and vicissitiudes of the yeare. Those men themselves, who do with such absurd praises extoll the Muses, doe not account that man only absolute, who is adorned with all kinds of science; but count it enough to make him so, if he doe excell in any one kinde of learning; as if an excellent Oratour bee unfit for contro-

verted Philosophy, or if a Philosopher be not capable of eloquence, and altogether ignorant of history and Poetry, yet they will not exclude him from the number of learned and excellent men. That praise therefore, which any one part of learning may gaine, how dare they detract from that Science, which consists in governing the people, and is farre more excellent than any thing belonging to Mankind! Doe they thinke that wisdome speakes to her Schollers onely in Greeke and latine, and not rather by a secret inspiration, containing the worth of all languages? It were a poore thing to be borne of an excellent mind, if that excellency

lay

lay in nothing but a disposition fitted for Academicall learning. Those, whom we account the first Authors of learning, did not sweat in the Schooles, and yet we thought them borne under good starrs. To compose the manners of the people, to strengthen their Countrey with wholesome counsell, to examine forreine rites, and transport those that are good, into their owne land: to observe also the motions of the heavens, least the seasons of the yeare, for profitable uses of the people, should not bee knowne: This then was learning, and this our letter'd men doe but onely imitate. For when those ancients did strive to teach humanity and

vertue to the rude mindes of the ignorant people, civil Philosophy by that meanes had her originall; when they contended against each other to perswade the people to this or that action, eloquence had then her beginning. Lastly, what doth history, but leave the Prudence and subtilties of those ancients to our now learned men, as their successors, if they be men of action; but if they be of mindes unfit for businesse, then as to registers onely, and enrollers of the ancient vertue. For to reade history onely for contemplation, is a vaine and idle pleasure, which passeth away without fruit: but to imitate the vertue of those praised men, is the true and publike learning.

I will not deny but that is indeed a moſt abſolute accompliſh'd Soule, which is framed both for the Commonwealth and Learning too. For then theſe two endowments doe by their mutuall ayde, advance each other to the skye. His high and active policy doth governe his learning, that it grow not light, nor baſe: his learning againe doth arme that policy, that it ſhould not onely truſt to experience and knowledge of his owne times, but make uſe of the skill and labours of antiquity.

But if any man, as ſometimes it happens, fit for publike employment, and to ayde his Countrey, have no felicity at all in learning, hee

is notwithstanding to bee esteemed of a higher order and elegance, than hee, which is onely capable of quiet learning, and Schoole subtilties, unfit altogether for civill discipline, which is most usefull. Insomuch, as *Favorinus* may bee thought, rather Philosophically than jestingly, to have measured the knowledge of ADRIAN by the greatnesse of his power. The Emperour *Adrian* was ambitious of the fame of learning, and lighted by chance upon the Philosopher *Favorinus*. Hee being provoked in argument by the Emperour, answered sparingly, and as if hee yeelded, that the Emperor might freely tryumph. His friends blamed him for yeelding so soone;

ſoone; but hee replyed, that they were deeeived; for why (quoth ſhee) ſhould not I thinke him the moſt learned, which hath twenty Legions? The Philoſopher ſpake not this without good groūd: for to governe diſcreetly ſo many Legions, was a point of higher ſcience, than to finde out any thing in the Schooles by the ſtrongeſt and moſt exerciſed head in Contemplation.

But the ſplendour of wit, as of all things elſe, is often ſpoyled by too great a confidence of it ſelfe. For many conſcious to their owne weakneſſe, doe endeavour by labour to obtaine that, which nature had denyed to them, and by dayly diligence doe ſo

mould and frame their minds, that at last they excell those, which were borne happily to great matters ; but considering too much the strength of their owne mindes, have abstained from labour, as a thing not necessary to them, but altogether superfluous. There is also a great difference even betwixt those, who by industry endevour to perfect their wits.

For some of them, whatsoever they purpose as their study and labour, are busied onely in the maine and highest points of it ; but doe not so much as let their thoughts descend to the lower and lesse necessary points. Others are overtaken with a contrary

trary errour, who fearing to leave any thing behinde them untryed and undiſcovered, doe ſo ſtrictly ſearch into the leaſt things, and are ſo deſirous perfectly to ſcanne whatſoever they learne, that they cannot make any great Progreſſe in their entended Studies, nor ever arrive at the true and liberall knowledge of that thing, whoſe every part they have ſo ſuperſtitiouſly deſired to diſcover.

Beſides, all wits have not the ſame ſtrength of patience to endure continuall labour. For the more ſubtill and apprehenſive that the minde is; ſo the more

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easily it penetrateth into any learning; but is dulled the sooner eyther by greatnesse or continuance of labour. For such mindes are not kept in thicke constitutions, but such as are open, and fit to receive aeriall draughts, and pervious for the passage of animall and vitall spirits; who as more subtilly they can display their sharpenesse, so by their thinnesse they vanish, and are only repayred by idlenesse and recreation. And of such men not onely the labour, but even the recreation is precious, as filling their discharged mindes with a new strength, and for the most part storing their loose and wandering fancies with high, and serious cogitations. As the felicity

city of rich Fields, when they lye untilled, doth sometime of it owne accord plentifully and wantonly produce such Plants, as are not inferiour to the best Garden Fruits: So thought Cosmo de Medicis, a sufficient Author of Prudence, the Founder of that flourishing Tuscan Monarchie. Hee had taken his rest quietly, and without care as it seemed, till it was late day; when one of his friends comming in by chance, found him as yet betweene sleeping and waking: And where (quoth he) is that Cosmo, to whom wee, as to an Argvs, have committed our Commonwealth? Hee does not use his eyes so much as in the day time.

time. I have already dispatched all my businesse both abroad and at home. *Cosmo* replyes; Doest thou thinke that in diligence thou hast outgone mee, whose very rest is more active and profitable than thy labours?

Yet some notwithstanding are exempted from this fate; and, though men of great capacity, can endure continuall labour; few they are, and bestowed by Nature as her deerest guifts upon the publike affaires, who can exercise their deepe and piercing wits in lasting diligence, able to undergoe perpetuall employment, and not confounded with the different face of businesse; so that they

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seeme to bee borne as a releife to humane imbecillity, and a preservation of Common-wealths.

The

The eleventh Chapter.

Of valiant Mindes, rash, fearfull, proud, sordid; close and reserved, open and free; of inconstant mindes following all things hotly, but not long.

MIndes undaunted in dangers, and confident in themselves, are as eminent among the common sort, and exalted above others, at as great a distance, as Beds in Gardens, or hillocks in plaine Fields. But that disposition is at equall distance seated betwixt the confines of good and ill; and of it selfe affordeth

deth nothing to thoſe, whom it poſſeſſes, but a froward heat, to make them excellent in what ever they follow, vertue, or vice. For thoſe men on both ſides, by true valour, or raſhneſſe, (two affections of kin, though much different) are ſtirred up to the purſuit of vice or vertue. Raſhneſſe hath almoſt the ſame appearance and countenance that valour hath, and doth oftentimes ſo farre deceive, that thoſe, which make themſelves the judges of great mens actions, doe (which you would thinke unjuſt) meaſure them almoſt onely by the event. How many Souldiers of the baſeſt ranke, becauſe they have ſurvived the dangers they underwent,

derwent, have attained the fame of warlike knowledge, and that dignity which accrews to it? Others have beene accused of dotage, because upon the same projects, and in the same dangers they have beene ruined. *Tiberius Gracchus* by the love of the people and his owne power, was ambitious to bee a Lawmaker, & by a combination of the Nobilitie was put to death; the like destiny his Brother *Cajus* tasted; they therefore, say some, were men of unadvised rashnesse. *Cajus Cæsar* by popularity and bounty winning the people, attained to the Soveraigne dignity; hee therefore was accounted a valiant and wise

man.

man. King AGIS contending against the *Ephori*, was strangled at *Sparta* with a base halter. CLEOMENES boldly by the deaths of the *Ephori*, did establish the royall dignity. What shall wee censure of both their actions? Chance, or vertue? But this instance is an especiall one; ALEXANDER the Great, having quieted *Asia*, had designed part of his Army to goe, and keepe *Europe* in obedience; and the other part to stay with himselfe, least that any Commotions might arise in the parts of *Asia*.

The Souldiers not knowing upon what reason the King divided his forces, do all arise

ariſe in a fierce mutiny; and caſting off obedience, are not at all moved at the preſence and ſpeech of *Alexander*. But he boldly, eyther through wrath, or policy, leapt from his Throne amongſt the maddeſt of them, and with his owne hand drew forth to puniſhment thoſe men, that had moſt ſawcily contradicted him. That Majeſty, which could ſcarce preſerve his perſon, while hee ſought to appeaſe them, did then guard him in the act of puniſhing. This action of his by the conſternation of his relenting Souldiers, was renowned for high vertue: But GALBA the Emperour going boldly amongſt his mutineying Soldiers, was ſlaine in the midſt of

of the Market place. Shall wee call this valour or raſhneſſe? So neare, or almoſt confuſed is the reaſon that mixes this vertue with vice; or, to ſpeake more truely, valour is oftentimes forced to take the wayes of raſhneſſe; and then ſcarcely can it bee vindicated from the ſuſpicion of that vice, unles the happy ſucceſſe make it honoured: or hee, that was driven to that dangerous neceſſity, have by a long æſtimation of prudence, deſerved to have it thought, that hee uſed not raſhly, but by the præſcript of judgementt, hoſe extreame remedies which ſo nearely trenched upon the vice of raſhneſſe.

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Therefore this affection, when it is wary enough, is corrupted with too fatall a confidence in it ſelfe; deſpiſing all things with too great a ſcorne, and lyable to the miſchiefes of pride: apt to boaſt, not carefull enough either to avoyd hatred or gaine love, but running headlong with a mad violence, untill the indulgence of fortune, and ſucceſſe of raſhneſſe bee waſted, and no longer able to beare him out. But where this affection can keepe a meane, it growes up into moſt eminent vertue, and raiſes the courage onely in that caſe, to value the dangers of life and ſafety, leſſe than the infamy of forſaking their duty, or betraying the cauſe of piety.

piety. But if any man with that undaunted courage can joyne meekeneſſe, and have the power to bridle choller (which commonly waiteth upon the ſtrength of thoſe mindes) hee is then a man of a moſt excellent and accompliſhed ſocietie; and beeing awfull in Peace, ſhall by his ability procure a reverent feare, and by his moderation a loving reſpect from all that converſe with him.

There is another kinde of adulterine boldneſſe, but more ſafe; which may fall upon ſpirits of the baſeſt ranke; when they dare to doe things, not with their owne, but others dangers. This, but in name onely, doth al-

almoſt in nothing agree with that courage which wee deſcribed before; and yet notwithſtanding hath not beene enough to raiſe undeſerving men to fame and glory. None are more beholding to this boldneſſe, than Generals of Armies and Phyſitians; one by the danger of their Souldiers, the other of their Patients doe attaine fame. And indeed how many, not onely Generals, but even Tribunes and Centurions have not hunted for fame by the bloud of their Souldiers? A hard condition of thoſe common Souldiers, whoſe praiſes muſt be all intercepted by one man! Yet the policy of men in that kind is excuſable to preſerve the Generals, by whoſe wiſdome,

more

more than the ſtrength of the Souldiers, the foes are ſometimes vanquiſhed; and the Souldiers upon this condition are entertained, that whenſoever the Commonwealth needes them, they are to powre forth their Mercenary lives. But Phyſitians not by APOLLO the Father of AESCULAPIUS, nor all the Muſes, together with APOLLO, can ſufficiently bee excuſed; thoſe, I meane, who haſty in acquiring of wealth and fame, love not their Patients, as the ſanctity of their calling, and mutuall affection of humane ſociety doth require: but eſteeme them as Sacrifices to their owne glory, by a villany, which is ſafe, and therefore the oftner

practiſed. They uſe untryed and ſuſpicious medicines at the perill of thoſe, whom they come to cure; not content with the ſure rules of Art, and præcepts of the ancient, but accuſing antiquity, as if they would (if they may be truſted) invent a new art under their owne names. If fortune this way doe aſſiſt their raſhneſſe, and the medicine given eyther for deſtruction or health (for they know not themſelves which) doe good eyther by chance, or the ſtrength of nature in the Patient; they ſtraight have gotten among the people a fame of certaine, and almoſt divine knowledge; and many others by their deaths ſhall pay for the cure of this one man;

man ; while theſe Phyſitians doe then ſinne more boldly and even with the applauſe of dying men. But this Tragicall boldneſſe ariſeth not from that diſpoſition of minde, by which couragious men (whether valiant or raſh) are carryed upon high undertakings. For boldneſſe or valour is not to bee terrified with a mans owne danger ; and to feare in the behalfe of others , is humanitie.

Contrary to this confident and undaunted minde is the timorous nature ; which as ſometimes it is carryed upon honeſty, ſo moſt commonly it turnes to vice. For if it bee

altogether joyned with ſloth, as loving ſecurity of any nature, it then degenerates into the baſeſt vices, and is altogether unfit for vertue, or for privat or publike buſines. But it is hard, unleſſe onely when dangers are at hand, to know ſuch cowards; becauſe that, knowing in themſelves this baſe feare, they ſtrive with diligence to hide the ſignes of it, and cunningly counterfeit bold ſpeeches, challenging (as it were) all dangers, when they ſee they are farre from them; but injuries, affronts, and reproaches they can put up, as well as feare. They tremble at every ſhow of threatning fortune; nor do they ſtrive to decline thoſe evils, which they feare

feare so much, by a valiant and constant endeavour, but by a dejected and ignoble way. They esteeme the vertue and force of every man, although untryed, above their owne. They hate all men, and yet admire them with a secret veneration, which is not onely against their wils, but unpleasing to them. But, when they may safely, they are very cruell; eyther to counterfeit courage, or that their base and narrow natures are prone to revenge, or else to prevent their future feare by destroying them that might afterwards threaten them. But their countenances are kind, and much different from their inward cruelty: so that you may thinke them

like quicke-ſands, covered with ſtill waters, but deepe and devouring in a ſtorme.

But eſpecially, where a Prince is altogether of this timorous nature, his Servants, and Subjects have juſt cauſe to ſuſpect that ſoftneſſe of minde, which ſeekes indeed to give content, but is not ſafe nor happy eyther to himſelfe or others. For even thoſe men, that durſt inſult over the captiv'd diſpoſition of their fearfull Maſter, doe ſadly at the laſt ſuffer, in ſatisfaction of contemned Majeſty: and the Prince himſelfe, though hee ſuſpect thoſe, whom his inbred cowardlineſſe makes him feare, though hee give them reſpect more than is fitting: yet he hates thoſe men,

men, and ſometimes breakes out againſt them (letting himſelfe looſe wholly as it were) with a ſtorme as ſuddaine and violent, as before baſely hee had yeilded to them. But to have the Servants and Subjects cowardly, is oftentimes of great moment to ſecure the Majeſty of the Prince. But then he muſt not governe them with too gentle a hand, leaſt they think he feare them: nor provoke them by too harſh and unſeaſonable commands, as altogether deſpiſing them; for a dangerous inſurrection may be made, even of the moſt cowardly men; where every man, in ſo generall a mutiny, is bold, not truſting to himſelfe, but his fellowes ſpirits.

But if any man be so borne to a fearefull nature, that yet notwithstanding by prudence and wisedome he can acquire true valour; and where there is need of it, temper his naturall feares; he is not onely farre from baseneſſe, but worthy of exceeding admiration, that can change a weake passion, and most commonly bad, into true vertue. A notable example of feare, joyned with these strong vertues, in our fathers memory, was a great and renowned Souldier, to whom *France* in her Warres did owe much. Stout he was of hand, and wise in counsell, yet at the very approach of fight, when the enemies were in sight; filled with a representation of the danger, his

his Body was so loosened, that he needed a private place to empty himselfe both of his excrements, and his feare; But when hee had recollected his spirits, so skilfull hee was in marshalling his Souldiers, and so couragious in fight, that you would doubt whether he performed better the office of a Chiefetaine, or a common Souldier. At the end of his life also, his noble (though calamitous) courage proved to the world that such a pittifull feare may sometimes bee joyned with true valour. For that tragicall battaile of *Pavy*, where King FRANCIS was taken Prisoner, and the French lost their hopes of *Italy*, was made more sad by the death of this

noble Captaine. The day before this overthrow, the King called a Councell, and, though himſelfe were eager of fight, yet deſired his officers to give their adviſe. This old man did exceedingly perſwade the King to ſtay for ſupplyes, which were already leavyed, and neare at hand: deſiring him not to throw into hazard (eſpecially at a time unneceſſary, and in a forreine land) the eſtate and welfare of *France*: that their conſultation was not onely for the Kings honour but his ſafety. There was in the Councell a hot young man, who, of a turbulent ſpirit, was fitter to begin than continue a fight. He alledged, that nothing was more honourable than that

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the victory (of which hee doubted not) ſhould bee gained by fight; that the enemies would receive too much honour if they ſhould bee feared by ſo great a King, and ſo cheerefull an Army; that the Kings name had already frighted them, and the *French* horſe would at the firſt onſet tread them under foote; hee taunting beſides this old Captaine, ſaid, it was no marvaile though an old man, and fearfull, ſought delayes, whoſe minde was ſhaken with his uſuall feares, and now was ſeeking a paſſage through his guts. The old man could not endure the ſcurrility of ſo immodeſt a jeſt; but I (qd. he) ſeeing the K. will have us fight, wil dy to morrow ã honorable death,

death before his face; when thou forgetfull of thy brags and rashnesse, shalt by a base flight forsake that battaile, which now thou hastenest on. This sad Propheſie they both fulfilled; for the young man fled basely from the battaile; and the other, through noble wounds in the Kings sight, powred out that life, which hee before had promised.

This wary and modest feare may not onely bee joyned to Prudence, but is sometimes a great part of it, and very profitable in those men, for whose too too forward and rash spirits the Common wealth might smart. But those men that by this just and wholsome Art can go-

verne

verne their owne mindes framed to feareſulneſſe, are uſually adorned with a moſt milde humanity, and full of curteſie; and pious modeſty will injure no man; reverencing as it were, even in the baſeſt and pooreſt men, the communion of mindes and mortality. They are by this inbred feare, more troubleſome to themſelves than others. For ſecretly within themſelves they labour by manly precepts to compoſe their ſicke mindes diſtracted with terrours againſt their wils; but openly they neither thinke it ſeemely to confeſſe their timorouſneſſe, neyther through the impulſions of their unquiet feares doe they love to manage any thing eyther

ther of their owne, or committed by their friends.

The proud and fordid minds are different from the bold and fearfull; but borne as it were, upon the borders of them. Pride the tinder of worſt diſpoſitions, breaketh forth divers wayes in manifold and heynous vices, obnoxious to all the tortures of hatred, love, and chiefly envy. Perpetuall and troubleſome are the vexations of thoſe men, which doe not ſo much ſtrive to gaine praiſe, as thinke it is already due to them. They eaſily ſuſpect themſelves to be neglected, & revenge in themſelves with moſt bitter griefe, this ſcornefulneſſe (as they account it) of other men. They know not

their

their owne vices, nor the vertues of others. And when men are of this humor, faith, piety, and whatsoever is sacred among men, they value below their fame & thirst of honors. And howmuch soever succeed, nothing breeds their quiet, but carries them upon new, & more distracting hopes: but there is no greater affliction than when Pride falls upon a man of a fearfull & effeminate mind. Shamefastnesse and feare do then restraine his mad desires: and he in the meane time with a concealed swelling punishes himselfe. But this disposition is unfit for friendship and every where unpleasing; unlesse sometimes when pride by the dull and fearfull minds of the common people, is adored for magnanimity. But

But mindes that are baſe, and of a ſordid lowneſſe, as they take no care for high atchievements, ſo they account nothing unworthy to obtaine their Luſts. They eyther ſleepe in lazy Idleneſſe, and the Lethargy of pleaſures; or elſe gape after wealth with an afflicting deſire, that cannot uſe it when they have it. With ſuch commotions are theſe abject mindes uſually troubled. If for a time they bee raiſed with high projects, and ſeeme to follow reaſon, yet ſtraight they are benummed by their naturall ſottiſhneſſe, and wallow in their former baſeneſſe. Thoſe that are ſunke in this diſpoſition, are not borne to beare rule: nor yet are they very fit for obedience;

dience; for they repine at other mens vertues, which they indeed doe neyther love nor conceive; and therefore seeke for a kind of freedome, in which quietly, and without the checke of any man, they may enjoy their owne base and narrow affections.

But we doe sometimes favour vices, and give them the names of those vertues which are are neare to them. So rashnesse is honoured for fortitude, and pride adorned with the name of an erected manly nature; and this base dejected humility puts on the colours of humanity, and that simplicity, which is taught by true Philosophy. But we commonly censure no dispositions more unjustly, than those

thoſe that are open, and apt to doe things like raſhneſſe. For upon ſuch men, as if they forſooke modeſty, the brand of levity is ſtucke: and on the contrary, dull and cloſe minds doe among the people carry an image of wiſedome; wee cenſure them both amiſſe, but not without ſome ſhew of reaſon. But open and active wits are neyther fit for ſecret malice nor deceit, nor for the moſt part filled with that malapartneſſe, and other vices, which they may ſeeme to make ſhew of. For in ſuch men a deſire of ſuddaine ſpeaking, and harmeleſſe jeſting is more prædominant, than any malicious intent. They ſcarce brooke idleneſſe, ſtill ſeriouſly intent upon ſome

ſome action, whether great or ſmall; ſo that this kind of diligence doth uſually ſhake off thoſe ſordid qualities, which commonly grow upō ſlothfull minds. They cānot ſpare their jeſts, though againſt a friend; but the preſent delight more than any mans wrong, is ſought by them. They are gentle, not onely in admitting friendſhip, but continuing it; and are not hotly led by that pleaſure, which flatters moſt men (as new) in the beginning of ſociety or buſineſſe. Whatſoever they take in hād, if they do not exactly perfect it, yet ſomewhat and that pleaſing, out of their own *Genius*, they will beſtow upon it; eſpecially ſince what they do, is not wrought with anxious labour

labour, but excels in the grace of facility; as if brought by natures owne accord to its proper *decorum*. And if in Learning they write any thing, they offend not the Reader with an opinion of too much paines; for the readers doe almoſt ſeeme to partake of the labour with thoſe Authors, who are knowne not without much watching and trouble, to force in their ſentences and words.

Contrary to theſe diſpoſitions, which are not at all diſguiſed, but alwayes (unleſſe it very much availe them to conceale) by an ingenuous confeſſion betray their actions, are thoſe natures, which by a ponderous ſecrecy, like to wiſedome, doe hide their intentions

tentions and desires. To these men many without further tryall doe allow the name of vertue and industry. For it is a great shew of wisedome to speake sparingly, and by præscript; to bend the brow at every mention of vice; and to affront or injure no man, at least openly or of set malice. And lastly, what can come nearer to the image of an ample Soule, than to seeme by a deepe and continuall commerce to talke with wisdome? For so would you thinke those men composed, which are given to the forenamed quiet and solitude. But this slow and grave tranquilitie has many lurking holes, into which it receives vices also, whose very names hee cannot

cannot heare publikely without the ſignes of ſhame and horrour (for they have tender forc heads, and not reſerved like their mindes.) That ſilent and impriſoned Army of cogitations cannot alwayes be intent on the ſtudies of induſtry and true vertue. For as the heats and deſires of all men decline from labour to the ſweetneſſe of pleaſure, ſo eſpecially theirs doe, as being of a more ſoft and effæminate nature. Hence comes it that this often and idle ſolitude repreſents unto their mindes all manner of pleaſures and of vices: in which filthy contemplation they therefore more ſecurely reſt, becauſe there they can freely be conſcious onely to themſelves,

ſelves, and openly, with pie-
ty, not very laborious, yet e-
nough to gaine the credulity
of others, adore vertue. But
yet doe not thinke that they
are alwayes intent in the ſpe-
culation eyther of wiſedome
or vices; for, for the moſt
part, thoſe ſlow mindes doe
therefore ſticke, becauſe they
finde not fit matter of diſ-
courſe; and in the meane
time by their countenances,
their ſilence, or (if thou wilt)
weightineſſe (which as the
graveſt of men, ſo the dulleſt
of Cattell doe expreſſe) they
gaine the eſtimation of inte-
grity and induſtry.

There is another kind of diſ-
poſition which containes in it
almoſt al theſe how differēt ſo
ever

ever, with a wonderfull, but not laudable variety. Yet a brave disposition it were, if nature had allowed it a bridle as well as spurres. And that is of men that run into the extreames of whatsoever their affections leade them to. If they would bee Religious, presently as if it were not lawfull to interpose any recreations among those holy duties, they put on a mortified face, brooking no remission, and a looke of such holinesse as cannot last. They are proud Censurers of other mens lives, and measure all mens honesty, by their owne suddaine severity. Then they shake off the pleasure of their old friendships, and cannot brooke innocent mirth, which

which wise men mingle with their cares, as an helpe eyther to forget them or overcome them. Anone, when the strength of their mindes is broken by too much intention, when they begin to bee weary of this rigid piety, which they so unadvisedly followed; not by degrees, and ordinary turning tides (as it were,) but like a torrent turning backe, they run againe to their former course of ryot. Then they let themselves loose to pleasures as immoderately, as before they had forsaken thē foolishly; then they hate the very name of severity, and with all manner of jests scoffe at the Professors of that rigid piety, which themselves haue lately left. While they

are thus busied; behold, reli-
gion comes upon them a-
gaine, and with a sad repen-
tance drives away that wan-
tonnesse,; untill they begin a-
gaine to repent themselves o
that repentance. Nor are these
frequent and immoderate
changes onely in their religi-
on; but in all things else
they erre with the same heat.
From most entire love they
are carryed (as it were with a
whirlewind) into extremi-
ty of hatred; sometimes im-
moderate in labour: some-
times nerve-lesse in sloth; so
in their loves or lusts, and
whatsoever else can stirre up
cõtrary motions in the minds
of men. Nor can they go-
verne their speech and si-
lence; if they be taken with a
heat

heat of ſpeaking what cõpany ſoever they come into, themſelves have all the talke, and are onely heard; By and by when that mirth forſakes thẽ, which made their minds ſo overflow with talke, they ſit in a ſad ſilence, and as if collected into a diſcourſe within themſelves; ſo fixe their eyes, that they ſcarce know thoſe that are preſent, nor heare when they are asked queſtions; an æquall offence on both ſides to the ſweetneſſe of humane ſociety, where to ſpeake opportunely, & to be ſilent onely by turnes, is allowed by mãners.

But the cauſe of ſo great an errour in thoſe men, is an inward kinde of ſweetneſſe; by which they ſuffer themſelves wholly to bee ſwayed;

and as that guides them, they avoyd or follow. That motion, upon what matter soever it carry them, how full soever of cares and labour, yet presents it first to their minds in a most pleasing shape; and overcomming their mindes with a sweet and pleasing violence, carries them away, and forces them to beleeve it in all things. But when that show is vanished, and that mutable and fugitive sweetnesse is turned another way, they straight follow it. For they are not onely impatient of labour, but of pleasure it selfe, as soone as that inward flattering temptation is gone. But this is a signe of a weake and impotent judgment: a minde formed for vertues, but

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tis onely for the beginnings of vertues: not stable eyther in faith, or friendship; but every where so unlike to it selfe that it is distastfull. It can neither command it selfe, nor deny any thing. But it is a sad fate, and ill for the people, when men of this unhappy disposition, exempted from the lawes of feare or modesty are borne to a Soveraigne dignity.

The twelfth Chapter.

Of amorous dispositions. How those affections are tempered, and sometimes changed by Fortune, and diversitie of conditions of life.

BVt in reckoning up all the affections of Mankinde, it were against reason and humanity to forget Love, which reigning in all breasts (except they bee altogether barbarous) claimeth notwithstanding a more neare jurisdiction over some, and filleth them more with his cares. Love is a sweet and restlesse desire to be liked by them, who eyther by chance, or by their owne vertue,

vertue, or by our errour are liked by us; and ſo creepes upon us from thoſe ambuſhes, as it were, that wee ſooner perceive our ſelves to bee in love, than we thinke upon the way of loving. It were not hard in the beginning to ſhake off this load, if it did not by degrees and ſweetly aſſault, ſo enſnaring thoſe whom it catches, eſpecially unexperienced men, that they ſuppoſe it were inhumane, barbarous, and inconvenient to themſelves to ſhake off by a rough ſeverity the ſweetnes of this flattering miſchief. But there is nothing more excellent among men, than this affection, if it bee rightly governed. For it ſets a certain curious gloſſe upō all

vertues, and ſometimes excuſes even vice it ſelfe. Vnjuſtly doe ſevere men accuſe Love, and paint him in a looſe and feeble figure: when there is nothing more ſince e amongſt Mankinde, provided that hee burne in juſt limits, and thoſe raiſed by vertue, and fire not with an unlawfull flame where he is forbidden. Nor is this ſweet deſire ſtirred up onely in young men, and in men of middle age; but boyes alſo in their harmeleſſe yeares, that you may know that this flame is rather borne in worthy breaſts, than lights by chance upon them. And becauſe boyes and youths are leſſe able to governe themſelves, and moderate their cares, although ſuperfluous:

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therefore love in them breeds a greater and more anxious care. And from hence their minds are raised to atchievements that are high, and above their age; as if by that experiment they would proove to themselves, that they are worthy to bee beloved. A young youth that went to Schoole, was by his carefull Schoolemasters often admonished to learne his book; but the booke was hatefull to him, that loved play and liberty. A noble Lady by chance came to that Towne, where he lived, with two of her daughters that were Virgins; and because there was acquaintance betweene the two families, this youth was brought by way of visitation

to the Ladies lodging. Hee began immediately to admire one of the young Gentlewomen, then to hold diſcourſe with her, and in concluſion, even the ſame day, to fall extreamely in love with her. Then firſt his ſimple and free minde began to be enthralled with cares. The next day he goes again to the place, where he received his unfelt wound, and by prolonged diſcourſes, ſo fed his malady, that hee grew worſe and worſe. For on the third day the Ladie with all her company going out of Towne, left this youth ſcarce a living Soule. And he, poore wretch (robbed even of that eaſe) was forced to conceale his flame for feare of being chid by his Father, or

mocked

mocked by his fellowes. After long consultation within himselfe, he judged no course better for him, than wholly to apply himselfe to his booke; for so he thought he might gaine his Father, and in recompence of so great a diligence in study obtaine from him a time of recreation. And as a reward of his labour, he had resolved to get leave of his Father, to goe to a faire City not farre from thence; and that was it in which the Mayd dwelt. His Schoolemasters and fellowes began to admire his exceeding diligence; and often demand from whence so great a change of mind should proceed, and love to learning in that youth, who not long be-

fore

fore disdained the very name of it. For in the morning he would rise to his booke before his fellowes, and was often bid, before he would goe to play. The heat of his love, which caused this diligence, did make both his labour so easie to him, and the Muses so sweet, that, before he was aware, he was taken with a love of them. Afterward (as in that age it often happens) when long absence had made him forget the young Gentlewoman and his hot love, an eager desire of learning did still remaine in him. And he following the liberall study, came to so high a proficiency in learning, that all the Muses are much indebted to him.

But

But Love a ſtubborne malady, and not to be cured with that facility, that other affections are, unleſſe it be ſtrangled in the firſt motion, is hardly removed by any means but length of time; that ſo wearied it may expire. For while he is in his courſe, hee findes ſomewhat alwayes to encreaſe, and advance the power he holds. For if the Lover through all his griefes and melancholly thoughts have but arrived at ſome ſucceſſe; he would thinke himſelfe too cruell to himſelfe, to baniſh utterly ſo ſweet a delight from him. But if a more cruell fortune doe either too long differ his hopes, or altogether take them away; then alſo his griefe pleaſes him,

him, and the minde pitty-ing it ſelfe, and with ſighs re-volving the cauſe of his cala-mity, melts in the pleaſure of ſo delicate a ſadneſſe. But that Love which is hid, is moſt laſting; eyther where both the parties are ſecretly agreed; the very ſweetneſſe of the ſecrecy doth then pleaſe them; or where the Love is not mutuall, and one onely ſuffers, who with ſe-crecy endures his wound. Nor doth the violence of this af-fection grow onely betweene the different ſexes; for SO-CRATES loved ALCIBIA-DES, and LYCURGUS thought it no ill diſcipline to ordaine that every youth ſhould have his Lover. The chaſtity of nature leading men to juſt

and

and brave Loves, lookes not at all at that difference; and you ſhall ſee many of the moſt honeſt men tormented with a care (or to call it rightly) a love of ſome young men. And this love is a certaine tye of benevolence, more hot and violent than to bee called friendſhip. We have then a perpetuall deſire of inſtructing them; continuall wiſhes for their ſafety and Glory; feare for the ſucceſſe of whatſoever they doe; and thinke alwayes that fortune, how laviſh ſoever ſhe bee in her favours towards them, doth not recompence their deſerts. That alſo is a fierce and reſtleſſe deſire, which ſtrives for unchaſte ends to win a beauty of the different

ſexe.

sexe. But yet thinke not but that examples of most pure chastity may continue betweene different sexes; although the thing so full of danger, doe oftentimes deceive them; and they themselves by little and little (ere they bee aware, or against their wils) doe loue otherwise thē they eyther thought or wish'd to doe.

But the minde of that man, whom Nature moulded for a lover, is milde, expressing in the very countenance modesty, and simple vertue; of a great but mercifull spirit; not hard to be entreated to spare supplyants and contemne revenge; exceeding pænitent when he himselfe offends; a great lover of offices of humanity,

manity, impatient of idleneſſe and all occaſions of ſloth, unleſſe forgetting the great benefits which he hath received from Nature, he corrupt the felicitie of his diſpoſition with laſcivious wantoning, and ſo idleneſſe.

It were a vaine thing to deſire to run over the whole variety of nature in humane diſpoſitions; thoſe which wee haue heere ſet downe, are as the chiefe Springs, from whence rivolets flow eyther to vice or vertue; that by the knowledge of them you may underſtand what men may be governed; who are fit for friendſhip and ſociety, who are to bee feared, and who for their ſloth or levity not to be regarded. For

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honesty & knavery, dispositions of true or adulterate wisedome, free and narrow minds, and whatsoever is eminent in publike and private affaires, is by this fortune of affections distributed to Mankind. From this contemplation of mindes vertues and vices shall justly be rewarded: for unlesse we curiously looke into these secrecies of nature, a turbulent disposition will often make it selfe appeare a valiant and vigorous spirit: a dull or vaine minde will challenge the estimation due to gravity or true eloquence: and on the other side, vertue will lye unknown, & at the first sight by the opinion or shew of some vice, be unjustly depressed below that honor which is due to it.

But

But a disposition, which is much reserved and hid, cannot be discovered without a long and prudent search. Therefore those, who by the first appearance censure the manners & dispositions of men, do entangle themselves in most fearful errors. For certainly, as in the art of fẽcing nothing is more dangerous than to fight with him that is squint-ey'd (for you can scarce conjecture at what place he aimes his stroke his eyes seeming to turne the contrary way:) so he that will deale with those men, who either by art, or the benefit of countenance cã hide their dispositions, must long & strictly deliberate within hĩ selfe what opiniõ to hold of thẽ; lest if he esteem too cruelly or favorably

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of them, he himselfe doe first rue the rashnesse of his opinion. The face especially doth often deceive unexperienced men.

How many of a fierce and formidable countenance have beene unjustly avoyded, as enemies to humanity, whom as soone as ever thou copest withall, the lenity and sweetnesse of their conversation, will turne thy opinion quite contrary? Others by the garbe of their persons, and curiosity of gait thou wouldst imagine to bee composed of pride; who notwithstanding eyther by nature or innocent custome have beene brought to it; and under this disguise retaine a disposition most milde, gentle, and shaped to

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all the lawes of humanity. There are those on the contrary, in whom, besides a person adulterately formed to the show of vertue, thou canst finde nothing to be beloved. Sometimes a countenance betokening quiet lenity doth hide a wrathfull and tragicke disposition; sometimes vigorous eyes have a Soule quite contrary; last of all, vices doe ly, as it were in ambush, under a slight seeming-tincture of those vertues, from which they most degenerate.

This great and troublesome knowledge of mindes cannot altogether be defined by præcept, nor otherwise acquired, than by the long experience of that man, who hath

impri-

improoved himselfe in this art, not onely by his prudence, but his frequent errours.

But especially take heed that by one vertue or vice you doe not in generall censure the whole minde and disposition of a man. For many are borne with so happy a towardlinesse to one kinde of discipline, that as long as they are conversant in that, no tokens of prudence and industry are wanting in them: but in other things they are so fooliſh and absurd, that they scarce seeme of a sound mind; others have one particular blemish in such a sort, that being wondrous discreet otherwise in their whole life, they seeme to doate onely in one part or

one

one ſtudy. Nay you muſt not judge, by the ſweetneſſe and elegance of their ſociety, and converſation it ſelfe, of their wit and wiſedome. For oftentimes in daily converſation men of a narrow minde are leſſe offenſive than thoſe whom the greatneſſe of a cheerfull nature hath made more careleſſe; whileſt they being diffident doe fearfully ſet a watch upon themſelves; or perpetually ſtudy (as being not capable of greater matters) how to frame themſelves to a faſhionable behaviour: but the other of a more capacious nature, doe either neglect ſuch vulgar things, or elſe careleſly admit ſome vices as attendants upon their vertues.

But

But it is not enough to find out this diversity of human mindes, as nature onely hath stamped it. There is another thing beside, that may eyther perfect or change a disposition: namely their estate of life; either that wretched condition or high dignity, to which every man eyther by chance or his owne vertue arriveth. How many, that were borne to a right and milde disposition, have by the fault of too much felicity corrupted their natures? How many high and vigorous mindes, which, if fortune had suffered, had growne to be examples of all vertue, oppressed by lasting poverty, and cruelty of fortune, have at last forgotten their owne worth,

worth, and degenerated into affections quite contrary? *Athenion* in his behaviour a publike example of honesty, as long as in the Vniversity with thinne dyet and meane cloathing, hee declaimed for Vertue; having once gotten the Soveraigne power, did straight, together with his poore cloathes, put off his Philosophy. *Abdolominus* having long beene used with his own hands to get a living by dressing the Garden, when hee was elected to the Kingdome of *Sidonia*, wished that he might beare his royall fortune with the same modesty and moderation that hee had borne his poverty. Now therefore let us consider also those affections, which by the

condition of Fortune, or manner of life are added to men; and oftentimes doe kill those manners, which the simplicity of Nature oppressed by no calamities, or inticed by no temptations, had bred in them.

The

The thirteenth Chapter.

That there is a difference betweene the Dispositions of tyrants and lawfull Princes; and againe betweene those Kings, who come to their Crownes by right of Inheritance, and by Election. Of the dispositions of Noblemen gracious with Kings.

THose people, who subject themselves to no Scepter, though they abhorre the name of servitude, yet doe not enjoy true liberty. For they must needs elect Magistrates, to whom they give iurisdiction over themselves; and the publike power, which they glory to be in the whole

Nations, is adored in a few men; so that in those Countries, where you would think all did reigne, the greatest part are Servants; a secret law of things dispensing so the frame and order of the world, that by the nerves of one head (according to the rule of the Deity) many members should bee governed. This spirit of Government, which loves to reside in a few doth more plainely shew itselfe in the Aristocracy, but most of all in a Monarchy, where all the power is in one. But that height of power, to which GOD by a secret instinct has subjected Men, was not ordained for their sakes which possesse the dignity, but those that are subject to it.

There-

Therefore when Kings have abuſed their dignity accor-ding as their pleaſures and ambition ſwayed them; or the peoples ignorance hath not underſtood their owne cómodity, the name of Kings hath oftentimes grown hate-full, and Monarchy with much blood and ſlaughter hath been baniſhed out of many Coun-tries, and againe reſtored.

All thoſe Common-wealths that flouriſhed heretofore, had Kings at the firſt. But they being expelled by thoſe that underſtood not true liberty, eyther the blind popular go-vernement ſucceeded them, or elſe the rule of the Nobili-ty; that is, many Kings in ſtead of one. And as a mem-ber, which by violence is put

out of joynt, cannot be put into joynt but by violence againe; so those Provinces which by this meanes had cast off the best forme of government, could not againe, untill they had cruelly payed for that errour, bee restored, & reduced to their first right estate. For in those Cõmonwealths, some cittizens swelling with ambition, had eyther by armes made their names great, or by the peoples error engrossed too great and too little offices; or elsse had seized into their owne hands the strength of the Common-wealth, and called themselves Kings. But they growing fierce (as it must needsbee in a new and hated State) did so pollute their

reignes,

reignes, which they by treason had gotten, that the people for their sakes thought worse of Kings than ever they had done, and the name Tyrant, which was once an honour to all Monarchs, became a word of hatred, and publike infamie.

But hee, that will consider those affections, which Kings by the greatnesse of their dignity doe nourish in them, must not esteeme alike the state of all Kings. Those different wayes that bring them to their height, doe cause different mindes in them: and those that reigne in a new-setled Monarchy, doe carry themselves in another manner than those who safely, and by the peoples wishes

reigne over a Nation long accuſtomed to that governement. And different alſo are the minds of a King crowned by Election (as in *Hungary*, *Denmarke*, and the Roman Empire) and ſuch a King as reigneth by inheritance, and poſſeſſeth that ſtate which his Father, and Grandſires held before him. New kingdoms not well eſtabliſhed by time nor the conſtancy of the people, doe fill their Princes with continuall ſuſpicions. They flatter the meaneſt ſubjects, and feare the Nobility, eſpecially whileſt they thinke themſelves are feared; and daily conſider with themſelves that their eſtate, not yet ſetled, may by the motion of fortune as eaſily be overthrowne

throwne as it was raiſed. Nor are tyrants onely, that came unjuſtly to their crownes, diſquieted with theſe thoughts: but thoſe alſo, who are lawfully choſen over ſuch Nations as have not beene accuſtomed to the name and authority of a King. But this feare is greater in Tyrants. For if they have ſubjected a Common-wealth, they feare the Nobility, as men that will vindicate their loſt liberty, and loath to ſerve him who lately was their equall: Or if they have invaded a Monarchy, and expelled the true heyres; with a continuall care and vexation they ſuſpect and feare the peoples hearts, as inclining to their ancient Lords. Therefore they dare

not truſt their friends, becauſe being privy to their counſels, they know alſo the means which way their Kingdomes may be undermined; and expect fidelity from no man, ſince themſelves have violated it. But in open ſhow, and with a garbe put on of ſet purpoſe, they ſeeke occaſions of doing curteſies, and ambitiouſly affect the fame of integrity, and loue to their Countrey. They are exceedingly liberall to the poore; great puniſhers of thoſe vices, of which themſelves gave example, and laſtly eyther Authors or reſtorers of the beſt Lawes, and publike buildings for ornament of the Citty; to decline by thoſe meanes the preſent envy, and infamy of poſte-

posterity.

In this manner a Tyrant is eyther bad by the fault of his condition, not his disposition: or else is good by necessity. His minde is wonderfully austere, his countenance wilde, his thoughts ready upon all occasions, especially those occasions which he feares; true pleasure he doth not know, but is led with a hope of it; and with vaine pompe sweetning his inward cruell cares, he doth as it were couzen his owne minde. But a lawfull King eyther by election or inheritance, confident in the right of his royalty, doth not so descend to base feares, or wicked preventions; although perchance hee fall upon turbulent times,

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mad Subjects, and whatsoever else a Tyrant feareth. But those Princes, which owe their fortune to election, whose royalty continues not in their family, being as it were, private men in one respect, namely as they consider their posterity, doe seldome with their whole care and endeavour so much procure the publike good, as those Princes which receiving the Kingdome from their Ancestours, strive to adorne it for their owne Posterity. Therefore those cares which are due to the publicke, they bestow upon their domesticke affaires, in a piety which may be excused, if they can fitly divide their thoughts, and looke both wayes, so to remem-

member their family, that they forget not their publike charge. But if by chance they hope or desire to preferre any of their owne bloud to the succession, then by rewards and curtesie the peoples suffrages must be bought; Force must be omitted, and Majesty it selfe layed aside. So by an hidden and troublesome care his minde is a Servant even to those men, by whom in publike hee is served and adored. In such cares oftentimes for their private family, is the industry of those men taken up, who for their Heroicall vertues, did before seeme worthy to weare a Crowne.

Many times they decline to the worse part, cul-

corrupting their manners, exerciſing with revenge their ancient hatreds and æmulations: when not forgetting who were before at diſſention with them, or who were croſſe in voyces to their election; their new power, not yet able to governe and containe it ſelfe, doth ſwell onely with deſire of revenge.

But if they be troubled with none of theſe miſchiefs, yet for the moſt part they are ambitious to doe ſtrange and wonderfull things, and by thē to renowne themſelves and their times to Poſterity. Theſe high deſires may aſwell be inconvenient as profitable to the Common-wealth. For as in Apples and Berries too early and forced ripeneſſe is

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onely pleasant because of the novelty of it; but the Trees themselves by such forced manuring, and unseasonable heats, after this fruit is brought forth, doe presently decay: so in publike affaires, especially the greatest, a certaine order is to be observed; and those who pervert or præcipitate those affaires, doe seeme as it were to kill the Commonwealth. Yet notwithstanding elected Kings, almost in all ages, burning with desire of a lasting fame, have eyther raised Warres abroad, or sought to innovate something in their owne Realmes; to gaine a name by their owne boldnesse and the danger of their men; and perchance valuing it at that rate,

Few

Few of them with *Stephanus Batorius* the King of *Poland* doe measure their actions not by their owne profit but the welfare of their coútry. There is a saying of his extant, worthy to expresse the bravery of his disposition; I will make the world (quoth he) understand how much a King chosen for vertue by the consent of a Nation, is better than he, whom right of succession thrusts upon the shoulders of unwilling people.

But those Kings to whom most truly this name of Majesty belongs, who leave to their children that perpetuated honor which they received fró their ancestors, & now owing nothing to the peoples voices, from whom al came at the

first,

first, may seeme born to reigne with another *Genius*. But to search out this disposition of theirs, that oweth it selfe only to God, may perchance be too sacrilegious a wisedome. Nor is it lawfull for us to pry into those affections, which the power of heavē hath inspired into thē for governing of the world, for alteration of states, & managing the fates of Mankinde. Some that are curious may perchance enquire whether it were better for Kings to begin their reignes in their childhoood, so accustomed to that greatnesse, as a thing borne with them, than to grow up under the reigne of their Fathers or kinsmen, and afterward receive their great inheritance; whether a quiet

and

and obedient people doe soften and spoyle a Princes disposition, while his power has a free swindge; or rather that love of the Subjects doe not endeare the Prince his affections to them, as the master of a family to dutifull Servants. Lastly, if a lawfull Prince, by the peoples ill affection toward him, be forced to fight for his owne right, whether after the victory he will reign cruelly, showing an hatred and contempt of them; or rather strive to appease them by a mutual respect, as remembring the past dangers to bee such, as may returne more heavily upon him. Arguments and examples are not wanting on both sides, (which in the changes of humane affaires) although

although proceeding from the same causes, have not alwayes found the same events.

But it is in vaine to search into these decrees of heaven; let the Kingly height not bee toughed with curious cogitations, but pryed into onely with adoration, as the secret mysteries of religion were: for it is piety to wish for good Princes, but to condemne bad ones is unlawfull. And seeing moreover that they doe not so much governe themselves, as give way to the fates leading (who by their affections doe ordaine the declinations and growth of States) all art and wisedome, that lookes into their *Genius*, and conjectures of it, is oft deceived.

The

The first step from this great height is the condition of Noblemen. Eyther those whom Kings chuse for Counsellours, to share with them the cares of the Commonwealth; or those who by a great and entirety of love are endeared to their Kings. Through both these, as through the mouths of rivers which discharge themselves into a great Sea, are the desires and hopes of the people carried. But they, as being advanced for different respects, have different wayes and dispositions. Those therefore who by their flower of age, or high birth, or sweetnesse of behaviour, are highly endeared in Princes Favours, have for the most part mindes bent

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to please; wch although deny'd to their owne affections, they square according to the disposition of their Lord. This is indeed a wonderfull kind of servitude, and full of subtill art; hiding sometimes a base and abject minde, sometimes a free and bold disposition. Sometimes to follow pleasure, to sport or jest well, is as usefull to them as the greatest labour; Nay even to exercise a kinde of state over their Princes, and almost reigne (but not too long and wantonly) doth more kindle the Princes affections to them, who desire as well to be beloved, as to love. For Lords that are advanced to that slippery height of favour, if they know their Prince to be

of

of a ſoft nature, not brooking enough a continuall uſe of the ſame pleaſures, muſt ſparingly beſtow their pleaſing lookes, or jeſts, or whatſoever in them is delightfull to him; diſpenſing them in ſo prudent a manner, that affection ſtirred up often and by intermiſſions, may neither breed a loathing, nor by neglect and oblivion be blotted out. But if the Prince be eaſie and apt to change often his affections and Favorites, bnt whereſoever he apply himſelfe, his love as it is ſhort, ſo is it blind and vehement; The Favorites remẽbring that they are now in a high tide, but ſhall ſhortly returne to their owne Sea, doe make moſt greedy uſe of their felicity. For they are

not

not afraid by importune ſuites to weary this affection of the Prince, which unleſſe it bee timely taken and made uſe of, like wines, which laſt not, it decayes and periſhes of it ſelfe.

But farre different wayes are to be taken with thoſe Princes, who loſe not themſelves in a torrent of affection, but to that ſweetneſſe of nature, which makes them love, doe joyne reaſon alſo. For this affection, being true indeed, and perpetuall (if they deſerve it) as it can never do all things, ſo has alwayes power to doe ſomething. Nor muſt you rob altogether that tree, but gather with choyſe the fruit of it, which will grow againe for you. There-

fore

fore the Favourites of ſuch Princes, doe wholly apply themſelves to them; and never forgetting their Majeſty, doe alwayes in their love give due obſervance, modeſtly uſe their freedome of ſpeaking or adviſing, and ofter conſider that they are Princes, than that themſelves are Favorites. Thoſe Favorites as it is their firſt care, to hold up themſelves in that height of grace, ſo alwayes make it their ſecond endeavour to raiſe Eſtates, to get Offices and governments, that if they doe remove from that height of favour, yet they may ſtill retaine ſome happy monument of their former power, and a ſtay to their after-life. But thoſe, who forgetting themſelves

ſelves, and too much truſting to their fortune, in prodigall yot doe conſume all the wealth and revenew of that ich favour, are worthy of a poore old age, and then in vaine to repent themſelves of heir unſeaſonable and ill acing ſo high a part.

Thoſe Favorites alſo muſt uſe one caution, which, if hey neglect it, doth ſometimes ruine them; not to preerre themſelves before their Prince in any thing in which ie eyther deſires to excell, or hinks hedoth. If he love the ame of policy, eloquence, vaour, of the art of warre or unting; let him yeeld, that nowes himſelfe to excell at t; for feare the Prince ſhould e fired with an emulation,

that may not onely extinguish the favour, but draw on a cruell and heavy displeasure. For many times the Princes mind (with an ambition not small, but more than the thing deserves) is desirous of fame in such matters, and takes it heavily to lose the prize. There is no certainer way for those Lords to gaine their Princes affections, than to seeme admirers of them; but it must be done with art, and so as may gaine beleife; for all do not lie open to the same flatteries. Every Prince who eyther is cōscious of vertue in himselfe, or swelled with vaine credulity, either may be or loves to bee deceiued by those arts; so many men striving to please and praise thē do quite overcome

their

their modesty, and make them beleive great matters of themselves. Another great art of gaining their favor is to seem to love them, some *Venus* (as it were) insinuating an officious grace, and requiring from thē a requitall of affection. That man is yet alive, and enjoyes the height of his fortune, who by such a happy accident encreased the love and favour which his master began to beare him. The King by chance with a fal from his horse bruising his side, fell into a Fever; this Lord with a sad & astonished countenance watched all night without sleepe by his masters side. Whether it were art or piety, he so far wrought upon the K. affectiō, that none was afterward in greater grace with him.

Nor can we ſay that the diſpoſing of ſo great a felicity (which ſome few onely can enjoy, having ſo many rivals in compaſſing that happy favour) is onely in the hands of Fortune. For as Fortune alone doth bring ſome men into Kings favours; ſo many of them for want of art and wiſdome doe fall againe from that height; ſo that it may be ſayd to be in Fortunes power, ſometimes to raiſe men to it; but of prudence to keepe them in it. But it is therefore a more fearefull thing to fall from that happineſſe, becauſe having beene once admitted into the Sacrament of ſo high a friendſhip, they can hardly fall from it, but they fall into hatred, or at leaſt a kinde of loa-

loathing; for love doth not so often use to dye of it selfe, as to be killed by a contrary affection.

But those Noblemen, by whose hands Princes doe manage the greatest affaires of their Kingdomes, to whom they trust their secret counsels, and the ordering of forreine and domesticke affaires, doe commonly temper the strength of their dignity after another way; as namely so to draw all the deepest and greatest cares of the realme into their owne hands, and so to appropriate them to themselves, that they stand not in so much need of their Country, as their Country does of their Service. And this they attaine by a perpetuall dili-

gence in thoſe affaires, and removing, as farre they can, not onely others, but even the King himſelfe from the knowledge of them. For they may ſafely manage all things when the Prince is plunged either in ignorance of his owne buſineſſe, or credulitie toward them. But theſe men being ignorant of their owne fame, doe as ſeldome almoſt heare the truth as Kings themſelves. For although they be infamous for extortion or pride, or any other wickedneſſe, and ſo generally ſpoken of by the common voice, yet themſelves many times know nothing of it, untill being overwhelmed with the weight of them, they begin at the ſame time to feele the hatred

tred and punishment too. Their countenances for the most part are composed of gravity; accesse to them is not easie; therefore discourses are short, shewing much busines, and a kinde of Majesty. Among these there are some few, whose lookes are neyther confused with businesse, nor swelled with pride. These are worthy of high praise indeed; nor are the other to be condemned, who fashion their manners according to their dignity and fortune. For this high Majesty, above the vulgars pitch, is sometimes necessary, in those men, by whose hands Kings doe manage their greatest affaires: especially seing the difficulty of accesse & conference

begets a reverence toward them; whereby the minds of common people are bridled; for the people commonly doe eyther feare or contemne. But that asperity of a strict countenance, whether it bee disdaine, or a true valuation of their power, may well bee forgiven in them, who for a reward of all their weighty cares, have this especially, as a token of honour and respect. Besides being worne, as it were, with continuall trouble and busineſſe, they cannot alwayes put on the same countenances, or looke with a cleare, and unchanged visage.

But if that power, and ability to helpe or deceive, doe fall upon impious minds, who intent

intent wholly upon their owne profit, neglect the publike safety: then although in their wickednesse they counterfeit vertue never so subtilly, (as if neglecting their own domesticke affaires, they were carefull onely for their Prince and Countrey;) they turne notwithstanding all their businesses that way, which tends to the preservation and increase of their owue dignity. If they can helpe themselves while the Kings estate is troubled: while with all diligence they seeme to cleare it, they doe but involve it into moe difficulties, and throw it into darke perplexities. But if in a quiet kingdome they can more securely reigne, then of necessity they hate all commotions,

motions, and will rather ſuffer the peace of their times to continue, though growing in the ſeedes of all evill, and perchance to the ruine of poſterity. Laſtly, the ſame deſires, which poſſeſſe elected Kings, doe commonly feed theſe Stateſmen: both of them holding a ſuddaine tranſitory power, which is not at all to deſcend upon their poſterity.

Who therefore can chuſe but admire thoſe men, which in ſo great a place can keepe integrity, and remember true vertue, when it lyes in their power to offend with ſo much eaſe, and ſo much advantage? Some ſuch in every age, to the releife of Mankinde, have come upon the ſtage, men ſevere to themſelves,

ſelves, of a white & innocent honour, ambitious of nothing but the publike good. But the goodneſſe of theſe men many times cannot keepe them ſafe from envy. For by the very ſlipperineſſe of their dignity (upon which few are ſtrong enough to ſtand) and the vices of their fellowes, their vertue oftentimes is wronged; and detracting tongues will never leave thoſe eminent places, in which they may find matter of railing, ſometimes juſtly, but never without ſuſpition.

But glorious is the fruit of ſuch a dignity: that beeing ſafe, and out of their reach, they ſee the envy of other men againſt them;

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and thoſe men forced to give them reſpect, whom they know maliciouſly bent, hiding their æmulation, and ſtriving to expreſſe love. For ſuch envy joyned with admiration, and ſtirred up onely againſt felicity, doth yeild (I know not in what ſenſe) a kinde of ambitious pleaſure to thoſe men, againſt whom it riſes, as putting them in mind of their owne greatneſſe, and the baſeneſſe of other men.

But they have another, and farre more excellent prerogative in governing the Commonwealth, that can lend a helping hand to brave and vertuous men, whom poverty or ſome other calamity doth keepe downe, and be ready, as it were, to ayde diſtreſſed na-

nature. Which thing as it becommeth thē to performe, ſo can they not leave it undone without ſuffering of puniſhment in themſelves for it, as ſecretly chidden by the indignation of good men, and upbraided by the image of vertue daily complaining within them: For ſeeing they did deſerve to be advanced for this very reaſon, becauſe they either are or ſeeme to be men of the ancient and prudent induſtry; Why ſhould not they acknowledge men of that excellent quality, and dearely love thoſe that are of kindred with their owne diſpoſitions? Nor are they ignorant which they be, or where they may be found. For as all other living creatures, unleſſe they be

ſtarke

ſtarke blinde, can ſee and know thoſe that are of their owne kinde: ſo theſe men being of ſo cleare a ſight, of ſo eminent and full a judgement, cannot chuſe but finde out, without miſtaking, men that are of kindred to their owne excellencies. And let them not ſay that they are oppreſſed with the multitude of ſuch natures, and that neither themſelves nor the Commonwealth are ſufficient to provide for all of them; it were well with Mankind, if there were ſo great a plenty of excellent ſoules, that, when all publike affaires were committed to them, ſome would bee ſtill left, beſtowed by God upon the world, as it were, for no action or employment. But

Man-

Mankind is not happy in ſuch a plenty; and it was rare in all ages, and among all Nations to find a deepe and pure wit, fit to be employed in any kind of civility, one adorned with learning, and borne with a cleare and valiant modeſty, to dare all things, but nothing too much. When great men invite ſuch diſpoſitions to partake with them in the publike felicity, they doe firſt honour themſelves, as of kindred to that *Genius*; and ſecondly adde ſtrength to the commonwealth, which is never better governed than by wiſe mē. As the fame of all eminent arts is ſtained by the multitude of artificers, & the unskilfulneſſe of thē, moſt of thē being unable to doe what they promiſe, &

ſeeking

ſeeking for their commendation onely the vaine name of ſuch an art: ſo the fame of wiſedome and ſcience hath beene oft ſtained by unworthy men, who have ſtudyed nothing leſſe than the Muſes, or true Prudence. But it concernes great men to keepe downe that counterfeit and adulterate vertue; and advance true induſtry, vindicated from the præjudice of unskilfull men, to ſuch rewards as, of juſtice, are due to it.

The

The fourteenth Chapter.

Of the ſtudies and deſires of Courtiers; Of the different natures and affections of rich and poore men.

BEſides theſe two ſorts of great men, befriended by Fortune, there are in Kings Courts a great multitude of men of all births, noble and upſtart, of all eſtates and ages, who there ſeeke after wealth, fame, and favour. And theſe houſes of Princes, though to the outward ſhow they appeare as places compoſed to all jollity and pleaſure, ſometimes filled with revels, ſometimes

times (for a change of recreation) ſweating with hunting games; full of honours, glittering in pompous and gorgeous attire, and rich banquettings; where every man ſeemes to live in a garbe of magnificence, and jollity above his condition: Yet to him that lookes more narrowly into the nature of it, they will appeare in manner of Faires or Markets, where men doe exerciſe a moſt laborious kinde of traffique. How many arts, how many troubles belong to a Court life, ſcarce they themſelves can tell you, who have that way ſuffer'd along time for their ambition. Nor does any man in this Sea deſerve the haven, but he that underſtands that a cõtinuall

timuall care and labor belongs to him to turne even thoſe things, which in ſuch a life ſeeme to flatter a man with ſoft ſhowes of pleaſure into ſevere uſes; and alwayes in thoſe very delights, find out matter of care and induſtry. For as the hardeſt labors may grow into a delight (as when immoderate hunting; or too watchfull ſtudies are pleaſing to a ſtrong and uncurbed minde:) ſo all kindes of ſport may by a ſevere intention bee ſo tempered, that they may turne to the burthen of a true labour. Therefore the recreations and delights, which are found in the Court jollity, doe no way take the wiſedome of thoſe men,

men who have not yet ſatisfied their wants and ambition, to make them, among theſe fading images of felicity, forget that themſelves are not yet happy, and let ſlip fortune, who for the moſt part never beſtowes her ſelfe upon any man, but as the reward of an unwearied and ſtrong diligence.

Wouldſt thou know therefore how, and with what countenance to receive theſe *Sirens*, leſt if thou hearken to them, they hurt thee, or if too ruſtickly thou contemne them, they proſcribe thee as too unſeaſonably grave? There is no need of a ſterne counnance or barbarous precepts. If they be of ſuch a condition, age, and perſon, as they may hope

hope to thrive by these revels and Court sports, then artificially they mould themselves to that magnificence, and pursue the fame of Courtship; and especially turne their garbe to that kinde of jollity, which is most pleasing to the Prince. But neyther is it good for them with the waſt of their Patrimonies to buy the miseries of a long hope: nor to let these looſe and pleasant-seeming baites mollify and corrupt their mindes; thinking daily with themselves, that they are now at the hunting, not the prey. But others which are not by the same fortune invited to these showes of delight (as unfit for them in condition or disposition) suffer not themselves

ſelves to be deceived with that errour which the other unwary Gallants are, as to thinke that a man cannot be a brave fellow, or accounted a Courtier, unleſſe he be eminent for extreame boldneſſe, and all expreſſions of wanton jollity. They know that ingenious vertue can there open to them other wayes, & more ſecure, to wealth and honour. And that Princes doe more certainely eſteeme and reverence a man, that underſtands his owne condition and *Genius*, and followes that, without any diſguiſe or vain pride, than ſuch men, as ambitiouſly counterfeit and put on a garb, which fortune hath denyed to their perſons and conditions. This moderation doe thoſe wiſe

wisemen keepe, who come to such Court-baites, as to an art, to make use of them rather than enjoy them; but let them, whom Fortune has not condemned to so luxurious a charge, taste these delights in sober pleasure, and as a recreation onely to their greater cares. And rather as Spectators, than to be themselves a part of the Scene; Lastly those who possesse fortunes eyther by their owne industry, or their ancestors, may bee allowed to follow those pleasures and recreations, as sorting with their ranke and quality.

Nor is it wonder if those men be unfit for great matters whom sluggish Luxury, that look'd no farther than it selfe, has

has as it were bewitched; ſince a watchfull diligence letting paſſe no occaſion, is not more required in any kinde of life, than that of a Courtier. For as trees grow from little ſeeds, and a man may ſtride over the fountaine of greateſt rivers: ſo in Court greateſt felicity hath ſprung from very ſmall beginnings, and ſuch as have not beene perceived by eyes intent onely upon Playes and recreations.

METELLA obtayned the marriage of DICTATOR SYLLA by this accident; comming into the Theater, and lightly laying her hand on his ſhoulder as he ſate, ſhe ſayd, ſhe deſired to partake of his fortune. MARIUS in his beginning

ginning poverty received his first encouragement from an accidental speech of SCIPIO, as prophetically pointing him out to the height of warre-like honour. For he knew how the hearers of this speech might be kept in this præjudication, and the greatnesse of his growing fame frō thence made up. So sometimes by a little and light blast wee are put in minde of a commodious winde, which if we follow, will carry our vessell to such fortunes as were above our hopes, and almost above envy. It has raised some only to light upon a great man, when he was pleasant and free, and open to any acquaintance which fortune brought him: some by a seasonable

and happy ſentence or jeſt: ſome by a ſuddaine token expreſſed by chance of ſpirit or induſtry, ſome by a caſuall cómendation of one, who aymed not at that when he ſpoke, have been ſtrangely furthered in the way of advancement.

There is therefore in men that are worthy to follow the Court with fortune, no raſh ſoule, nor impatiét of lingring and manifold hopes, but compoſed, and alwayes looking upon Fortune, and curious enough to find out whatſoever ſhe, though implicitly, promiſe to him. Nor do they wait idly untill thoſe ſeedes of felicity do of their own accords fall upon them. But by great arts they further Fortunes good meaning to thé; of which

the

the chiefeſt are to have friendſhip with many, but with ſtill obſervance, to keepe the favour of one of thoſe which are of the neareſt familiarity with the Prince. For that way of riſing is not ſo open to envy, and beſides, the Kings friends, more than the King himſelfe, doe oftē beſtow the wealth of the Kingdome. Let that Nobleman be ſuch a one, as can prefer his friends with publike benefits; for great noblemen neither wil give away their wealth, nor, if they would can thoſe rivers afford ſuch ſtrōg tides, as a P. his ſea cā do.

Nor muſt they weary the favor of that Noblemā with often ard unprofitable ſuites; leſt the very ſight of them grow offenſive to him, as fea-

ring alwayes a freſh trouble; or elſe leaſt ſpending his favour in ſmall matters, they become much indebted to him (as ever granting their ſuites) but little to fortune. In Fables we ſee that point of wiſdome expreſſed. NEPTUNE granted to his ſonne THESEUS three wiſhes, and confirmed by a great oath that he ſhould obtaine them. THESEUS having twice tryed the Gods fidelity, when now his laſt wiſh remained, he was ſo loath to throw away that certaine benefit, which he could never call backe againe, that at the time of his impriſonment in Hell, when PERITHOUS was ſlaine, he did not invoke the promiſed ayde of his Father, but feared, (as if there were

ſome-

somewhat beyond death) to redeeme his safety at so great a price.

There is in Court another labour of eminent profit; to be able to turne thy nimble and active minde severall wayes, and to put on, at least in shew, any motion or garbe that may be pleasing; which scarce any man can fitly doe without strong and austere diligence, and a great command over his owne desires. By this art have many men gotten both estates and honours, eyther in free Commonwealths, in which so many Lords cannot bee all pleased with one vertue or one vice; or in Kings Courts, where you must not onely fashion your studies to the Princes owne humor, but

must court all that are in grace with him; who being oft of various dispositions must bee wonne by different kinds of service.

These and the like studies of anxious diligéce do they take who follow the Court upon right hopes, and præcepts of true Prudence: but these things are either not discerned, or else despised by the more than blinded young Courtiers; who oftentimes unworthy of their parents carefull paines, fall away frō their wealthy modesty in a luxurius (& afterwards needy) ambition. It is enough for them to be named Courtiers, & numbred among men of honor; it may be, because it is the first liberty that they taste after they are freed frō the jurisdiction

risdiction of their Schoolemasters; and there are enow there to draw these novices into debaushment. But if they chance to receive the least grace in countenance or words frō the Prince himself, they are scarce able to beare so proud a joy; but with ravished eyes looke about them to see who are by, to witnesse this great honor. But especially they seeke after the fame of revelling and wanton Courtship, as a note of Nobility and manly vertue; nor doe they moderate themselves according to their own estates, but to the expences of great men; so emulating the course of those that are above them, and not able to keepe pace with them, they run thēselves out of breath, and faint.

From hence they grow heavily in debt, and complaine against the Prince, where themselves are in fault; as if the Prince could infuse wisdome into all his Servants; or that his sacred treasury, and thorough that, the Commonwealth should suffer for the profuse madnesse of these wanton fooles.

There are not onely in Courts, but in all kindes of life, different dispositions of rich and poore men. I call not onely those poore men, who are in extreame want, and driven to take miserable care for meat and cloathes, but those also which want estates to support them in that state of life, which they have taken; and from which they

cannot

cannot descend but by a sad confession of poverty. Some poore men doe openly vent their griefe; and had rather complaine of the wretchednesse of their condition, than excuse or conceale it. So to the great ease of their calamity, they can openly chide Fortune, and avoyd a greater trouble than poverty, which is, to counterfeit wealth. By this meanes they can inure themselves to beare their misfortune, and by professed labour seeke a remedy against that greefe, which they doe not hide. Men become of this nature, either by their low birth, which keepes them from blushing at poverty; or else (which is almost a vice) they are so subdued and ta-

med by Fortunes lashes, that they dare breathe no higher; or lastly by a brave and commendable contempt of transitory things, disdaining to professe that condition, in which the fates have placed them; able to manage great fortunes, and in poore estates not dejected.

There is another kinde of poore men, who with an obstinate and *Spartan* patience can endure all the strokes of fortune. They with a merry seeming countenance, do hide the anxiety of their care-distracted mindes, and thinke themselves happy enough, if they can seeme so to others. So in an obstinate concealement of their miseries, they suffer inwardly for that shame-

shamefastnesse, being ever solicitous about their publike fame, and moreover the talke of their houshold Servants, who must both know, and sometimes feele those woũds. As many of those poore men as doe see helpe at hand, and neare to them upon certainty (which is enough to make cities stiffely endure a siedge) & have for a while with fained cheerfulnesse hid their poverty, doe not onely deserve not to be accused of pride, but to be accounted brave men, and worthy to be speedily rescued by prosperity. But those men, wch in their poverty, do suffer that perpetuall vexatiõ, without any expectatiõ of fortunes redresse (at least not hopefull) yet will so order their affaires,

as

as in midst of perpetuall domesticke miseries, they will put on this maske of wealth; they are altogether worthy of pity, and may without envy enjoy that ambition, which with so many cares and calamities they have purchased. There are lastly some, thorough whom wealth, like suddaine gushes of water, doth passe and spend it selfe in a magnificence too high for it. Their mindes doe suffer a wonderfull punishment, and worthy of their madnesse; nor is there a greater or worse madnesse, than not to decline, by a mature confession of thy fortunes, a certaine ruine; and whilest by a charge that cannot last, thou wouldst have the people thinke thy estate

great;

great; thou makeſt it ſo ſmall that it can never after ſtand in any mediocrity. This is eſpecially the fault of Noblemen and young Gentlemen, that come newly to their inheritances, who are of an haughty diſpoſition, not knowing frugality, but by a profuſion of wealth ſeeking a fame higher than their owne eſtates, or the fortune of their anceſtours. Their mindes are troubled with long maladies, and fall oftentimes from that greatneſſe, which they ſeeme to carry; for there is ſcarce any humility, nor oftentimes plaine fraud, but they will ſecretly deſcend to it, to get money, which afterwards publikely, as it were in a whirlewinde of inconſiderate raſh-

raſhneſſe, they may profuſely throw away. There is nothing more dangerous than to commit any publike office to ſuch diſpoſitions, who by any meanes ſtrive to reſpite that Poverty, with an anxious feare, but ſuch an one as is not pœnitent, they daily and juſtly expect.

There are alſo as many diverſities in the condition of rich men as of poore. Some are born to eſtates left by their anceſtors. Other men by degrees do get wealth, & learne by little and little to be fortunate. Both of theſe are neither tranſported with admiration of themſelves, nor with immoderate exultation, long cuſtome having almoſt deſtroyed the ſenſe of daily joy; which

is

is never excessive, when by degrees it arises and expires. But there are some, who by a suddaine torrent of Fortune are overwhelmed, and at one race doe run as it were from Earth to Heaven. And these men, by such an unusuall sweetnesse are transported to a forgetfulnesse of themselves and a most proud contempt of that condition, from whence they are now translated. There happened lately a fit example for us to behold a minde drunken with suddain prosperity, and worthy of relation, because by the view of one picture we may conjecture of other faces.

There were two youths, who by education at the same Schooles, were endeared together

gether in a neare tie of friendſhip. The name of the one was MELLA, the name of the other CÆPIO, in whoſe countrie the Schoole was, and this beginning of their love. The time paſſing away which that age doth ſpend at Schoole, *Mella* returned into his owne Countrey; But firſt with *Cæpio* he entered into a deare league of everlaſting friendſhip; nor was this affection in them afterwards changed by their more manly ſtudies and delights. For by often letters and declaration of all their ſecrets, they ſtill nouriſhed their ancient friendſhip. In the meane time an unexpected inheritance had raiſed *Cæpio* to a higher condition; and *Mella*

about

about certaine businesses was called into *Capio's* Countrey. Of whose comming when *Capio* understood, not now so mindefull of their old love, as glorying to have *Mella* a witnesse of his high fortunes, hee made haste to goe and visit him. *Mella* his affection was sincere, and not overcome by such assaults of Fortune. Hee therefore with a plaine heart goes to meet his friend, and affectionately embracing him, begins to remēber all those things, which friends at the first sight, after long absence, use to doe. But *Capio* with a grave and composed looke, and an affected voyce, as if he were loath to change the copy of his countenance, began almost to sing

to

to him. And when hee was invited to follow into *Mella*'s lodging, to which, as in houſes of meane eſtate, there were narrow ſtaires; I prethee, *Mella* (quoth he) doſt thou lead mee into a chamber or a priſon? *Mella* was offended with this ſcornefull majeſty of *Capio*, but loath himſelf to offend in that kind, told him, hee did but hyre the lodging; that the roome, doores, and ſtaires were ſuch as travellers might make uſe of. But when they were come into the chamber, *Capio* careleſſy flinging himſelfe upon the bed, and ſmiling, began againe with a ruſticke urbanity to deride the inconvenience of the lodging: *Mella*, though hee were angry, yet not-

notwithstanding (as if hee consented to *Lapio*) hee hid it with a smile also. But hee casting his eyes round about upon the lodging, after hee had with a careleſſe ſtate ſurveyed all the furniture, turned his eyes and countenance vpon *Mella*: And ſeeing his bootes, haſt thou an horſe (quoth he) or rather horſes? Thoſe that come out of your Countrey are of good price; and I find none more fleete than they, when I chaſe the Stagge, in my woods. When *Mella* told him hee had none of his countrey Horſes, and though hee brought ſome, yet hee had loſt them by ſome diſeaſes, or, the diſtemper of a ſtrange ayre;

why

why then (quoth *Capio*) doſt thou weare bootes? *Mella* in ſcorne anſwered him, that he provided them againſt winter. Can you tell, quoth *Capio*, whoſe Coach that is, that ſtands before the doore? When *Mella* told him it was his; You ſaid, quoth *Capio*, you had no horſes. Not of our Countrey horſes, ſaid *Mella*; but did you thinke I came through this Citie a foote? I hyred *German* horſes to the Coach. Did two horſes or foure draw it (quoth *Capio*?) By this time *Mella* began to be filled with diſdaine as well as anger, but willing to continue this Comædy, he anſwered ſmilingly he had but two horſes; that he left foure for ſuch fortunate men as *Capio* was.

was. Tell me then, said *Scipio*; are you knowne to your King? What quantity of Lands have you? Or doe you command any Lordships? *Metella* at this could scarce containe laughter, but made him answere onely, that he so enjoyed that meane estate which his ancestors had left him; as that hee might neyther discredit them, nor ruine his posterity. Againe when he more curiously asked him how much his annuall revenew was, he answered that it sufficed him, and sometimes his friends too; and by that end especially hee valued his wealth. But when he saw himselfe assaulted with so many questions, he resolved to turne the burden of answering

ring upon *Capio*, who was moſt glad of it. Therefore *Mella* began to aske him how many Servants daily attended in his houſe? And afterwards how many horſes he kept? And how gracious hee was with his Prince? Nor was *Capio* any more modeſt in ſpeaking of himſelfe than wiſe in queſtioning of others; but his eſpeciall diſcourſe was of the Court; where he ſaid many of the Noblemen were ſimple people. Some of them by eaſie endeavours he gained for friends; others were taken with admiration of his valour, for hee had now beene twice in the Feild; and others of them, in reſpect of that favour, which hee had with the King, were glad

to

to proffer all offices of friendship to him. *Mella* was now amazed, and confident that none but a mad man could utter this. Therefore turning all his wearineſſe into wonder and pleaſure, hee began to urge him farther, and with madde queſtions to plunge him, that was forward enough, into abſurdities. There was a little reſt, and both of them after theſe follies had beene a while ſilent; when CÆPIO, as if ſome ſpeciall thing had come into his minde, breakes out on the ſuddaine, How eager thinkeſt thou are my hunting Dogges now of the Game? For I have charged my menne not to goe abroad with

with them in my absence. My Hawkes now are out of date; for they are mewing their feathers at this time of the yeare. And presently he added, the day growes old; fie upon it; I should long since have waited upon the King. He will chide me for being so long absent frō him. With these words in a stately embrace he falls upon *Mella*, who more humbly saluted him, and inviting him home to his house, fitting his pride to a kind of curtesie, he entreated him to make use of his faithfull friendship, that desired to serve him, and requiest him in what he wanted; hee should find him true in performance of his promises. This was the end of their discourse,

course, which amazed *Mel-*
la, and made him curse so-
laine wealth, if it transport a
man into such madnesse.

This vice of immoderate
boasting is incident not onely
to those men, whose wise-
dome Fortune by her too so-
laine guifts has overwhel-
ned, but to those also which
place their glory in warlike
feates. For having for the
most part, rude mindes, and
eyther nurtured in campes, or
among those men, whose
peace is infected with the
faults of campes, they thinke
nothing more glorious than
to bee feared; and absurdly
thinke to be beleeved, while
they speake of themselves.
From hence proceeds that
boldnesse in bragging and

high words, as if their ſwords ſhould purchaſe the favour and beliefe of all men. Hereupon in auncient Comedies were the perſons of *Pyrgopolinices*, and *Thraſo* invented, to ſhew examples of this fiercenesſe, flouriſhing more in ſwelling wordes, than the true dangers of a Warre. But in Old men and Captaines eſpecially this fault reignes, more ſecurely, and with more pardon; Mindes indeed compoſed for glory, but erring ſometimes by inconſiderate vanitie.

The fifteenth Chapter.

Of Magistrates. Of pleading Lawyers.

THe next Dignity, after the majesticke height of Courts and Princes, is that of Magistrates, to whom the fortunes of Suitors are committed, the punishment of guilty persons, and those offices, which are distinguished into divers titles by the number of those that practice, and the desire of getting of wealth. These for the most part are advanced to their places by open, and permitted bargaining; or else in such Coun-

tries as theſe, ſales are publikely forbidden, by private, and more ſtrict contracts with noble men, they find there alſo ſome that will ſell the Common-wealth. They pay oftentimes ſo great and immoderate rates for their places, that it is plainly ſhewed they ſeeke for them onely through ambition and hope of prey. For to deſire onely to benefit the Commonwealth with a deare care, which deſtroyes their owne eſtates, is not a vertue of this Age, nor to be looked for perchance ſince the *Curij*, and *Fabritij*. But ſeeing that no vertue is now followed *gratis*, and for its owne beauty, but all in reſpect of their rewards are made lovely to men: Therefore this deſire of

wealth

wealth & gaine in Magistrates may more easily bee indured, upon condition that they, content with that cõmon and almost allowed way of sinning, will afterwards with sincerity of minde behave themselves in their imployment.

But as by that height which they undertake, they have power to moderate, aud if they please, to abuse the people under them; So unlesse that by mature wisedome, and such as is not only capable of their place of judicature, they can bridle their desires, themselves cannot avoyd flowtes, and reproaches; but those for the most part are secret ones, and in their absence. For openly by flattering speeches they are stirred up to pride,

and a vaine confidence of themſelves; whileſt ſo many ſuitors in law with great obſervance, but ſuch as doth not laſt, doe ſeeke their favours: For no man, which is called into queſtion for his eſtate, but can be content humbly to petition the Iudges, and, if they be harſh and froward, to appeaſe them; or if they lye open to a favourable ambition, to feed them (like meate) with many praiſſes, and crindging geſtures. *Rome* did long agoe teach the world that art, when offenders in feare and reverence uſed to fall downe at the Iudges feete, clothed in baſe gownes, and their haire in a vile manner neglected. But all theſe ſuppliants, what end ſoever their buſineſſes

busineſſes haue, aſſoone as ever they are gone out of the Iudges preſence, put off again this fearefull diſguiſe of ſoothing; and ſometimes among their companions remember with great laughter, and reckon up the flatteries which they uſed, and the credulity of thoſe, to whom they put them. For Iudges being alwayes full of ſucceeding troopes of clients, doe many times value themſelves according to their flattery, and thinke that all thoſe are true honourers to their dignity, who by a compoſed humility do ſeeke to gaine their favour. Thoſe Iudges, I meane, whoſe ambition is not acquainted with the manners and ſubtlety of our Age; which they

have ſeene nothing but the Schooles and Courts, in one of which they uſed to trifle, in the other to have obſervance, and be deceived; or elſe are of narrow and eaſie mindes, fondly to beleeve them that ſpeake for their owne ends. But then eſpecially are they ridiculous to the people, when, as if they were aſhamed of their owne condition, they put on the geſtures and words of Souldiers, or in their attires imitate the Court faſhions, or follow other delights, which are not ſuitable to the majeſticke gravity of Gownes and tribunall Seates. Which errours doe many times overtake unexperienced young men; for young men are ſometimes advanced

ced to thoſe dignities.

But nothing is more miſerable to a Common-wealth than when Magiſtrates and Iudges, forgetting that Goddeſſe, under whoſe name, and by whoſe repreſentation they pronounce ſentence, ſwayed in their affections, either by the greatneſſe of guifts, or favor of the pleaders, are not afraid to deceive the Lawes. Nor can I eaſily tell which is the greater fault to be ſwayed by money or by friends; For that eaſineſſe in them of denying nothing to their Favourites, opens a Iudges breaſt to all impiety, accuſtomed thus by degrees to injuſtice, that excuſing his crime with a ſhow of friendſhip, afterwards wherefoever hatred or hope ſhall

leade him, he will not feare to offend, and to doe that for his owne ſake, which at firſt he did for his friends.

But if they be eagerly intent on wealth, and ſeeke riches by the peoples harmes; then the body of the Commonwealth under ſuch Phyſitians is more ſicke of the remedies than of the diſeaſes. But there are few that in an open way of villany, dare thus to ſatisfie the luſts of themſelves or their friends. There is a more lingring plague, or, if thou wilt, a modeſt cruelty; which now by cuſtome is almoſt excuſed; to intangle with intricate knots, and ſo prolong the cauſes in their Courts; to be ended late, through an infinite

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and almost religious course of orders. By these arts they prolong their domination over wretched men, and deliuer them up to be more polled by their officers. And with perpetuall prey they feed the advocates, and whole nation almost of those which are fatted with the spoyles of wretched Clients. And how intollerable are the trickes of some? Iustice which they are afraid to sell openly, they prostitute under other Merchants. Their houshold Servants are their Remembrancers and Secretaries, who use to put into order, and to keepe in record of writing the causes of suitors, and the instruments of them. But such men they doe not admit

mit into this ambitious ſervice, untill by great ſummes of money, which they before by ſuites have gotten, they make purchaſe of theſe places. Oh miſerable mockery of the fortunes of poore wretches, that come to theſe tribunals! That the ſervants of Iudges are not hired, but pay money to be admitted into their family and ſervice, what is it elſe but to buy a liberty of cooſening, and by ſtolne fees to rob the ſuitors, and by ſelling their ſuffrages, by either ſhortening or obtruding bookes, dare to deceive both their Maiters and æquity it ſelfe. But many of theſe Magiſtrates have candeid mindes, and preferre holineſſe, juſt honours, and that

that ſtipend, which the law allowes them, before the covetous artes.

Theſe are grave men, and modeſtly compoſed within the greatneſſe of their fortune; Nor are they praiſed more by the flatterie of thoſe that ſeeke their ayde, than by true fame of their piety and juſtice. But if you value the Courts of theſe Iudges not by the manners of each in particular, but by the gravity of the whole Colledge or aſſembly, it is wonderfull how great a reverence they will ſtrike into you. For beeing admitted into their preſence, you will altogether thinke them worthy of that ſpeech of CYNEAS, who ſayd he thought himſelfe enviro-

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ned by as many Kings, as *Roman* Senatours were then assembled. But yet this Majesty will be a farre more gratefull and delightfull spectacle, to those men that being free from law businesse, have no hopes or feares depending upon their sentences; who sitting, as it were in the Haven, may securely looke upon the stormy Sea, and see these NEPTUNES governing the Waves according to their owne becke. When *Rome* and *Carthage* were in league, MASSANISSA King of *Numidia*, who was also at friendship with *Rome*, had warre with *Carthage*. The armies were both encamped against each other, and the day appointed for fight; when

SCIPIO

SCIPIO the younger, being sent by chance upon other businesse into *Affrica*, came to the Campe of MASINISSA, and enjoyed the sight of that great battaile; he himselfe, which way soever Fortune enclined, was secure by the Majesty of the *Roman* name. He went therefore up to the top of an hill to view the battell, and there securely enjoyed the dangers of so many men. And it seemed to him a matter of so ambitious a delight, that he sayd, none ever had had that fortune before him, but onely IOVE from IDA, and *Neptune* from *Samothracia*, who placed out of all danger, beheld the battaile of the *Greekes* and *Trojans*. The same may be sayd of this

this ſpectacle of the Courts & Iudges, than which nothing is more delightfull, if thou ſtand without danger, and have no need either to intreat or feare. For thou mayſt there grow pleaſantly acquainted with the learned minds of Iudges (as many of thē are ſuch,) or elſe perceive their want of ſence and eloquence in ſome cauſes, and ſo give ſentence upon the Iudges themſelves. Or if thou loveſt to be among the trouble of the Court, the very noyſe of their running up and downe, and different lookes, ſome animated with feare, ſome exulting with hopes, will ſo take up thy mind and eyes, that thou wilt thinke thou beholdeſt a pleaſant ſcene of

humane

humaine madneſſe. And eſpecially the ſubtilty of the advocates, (whoſe eloquence is there at ſale) diſplaying it ſelfe in oſtentation of Science and pompous language, will be enough to give thee a delight ſweet, and not altogether idle; which while thou enjoyeſt, thou ſhalt notwithſtanding with fearleſſe ſighes grieve ſometimes for the miſeries of others.

For the mindes and condition of the advocates (as mankind doth turne even her aydes to her owne ruine) are much changed from the firſt inſtitution of officious Piety. To pleade cauſes before the Iudges, to accuſe the guilty, and defend poore Suppliants, was once a magnificent and libe-

liberall office, performed by thoſe men to whom the commonwealth committed the higheſt charges in the Campe or Senate houſe. POMPEY the Great ſtood not ofter in battell than before the Iudges; and the firſt CÆSAR'S, although they had all power, yet ſometimes they choſe rather to aide the accuſed by way of advocation, than by the ſuffrage of their high authority. And that magnificent function was ſo far from having any hire but glory, that when afterward that right Nobility began to decline, and Orators beganne to ſell their paines, lawes were made to forbid, and brand with infamy ſuch dangerous hires; and afterwards when

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the publike vice had broken downe thoſe barres alſo, yet therewas a meane ſet downe, and a certain penſion appointed for that mercenary eloquence. But now when the world grew mad, and ſuites did exceedingly increaſe; that thriving and numerous nation are ſcarce enow for their clients, who ſpoyle themſelves to feede their owne diſſentions.

But as all lawyers have one aime euery where, to get wealth, and fame, ſo according to the qualitie of the Countries, there are different ſtudies, and degrees, by which they come to that end. The eſpeciall part of their knowledge is to underſtand the lawes, not with a cleare and candid

candid Genius, ſuch as they had which made thoſe lawes, but as they are perplexed with innumerable & troubleſome poins of ſubtlety. To finde out ſomewhat in them whereby to delude the ſimplicity of them, that goe plainely to worke, is now eſteemed the moſt glorious thing. Among moſt nations thoſe lawes, which the *Romans* made for themſelves, and we call civill, are now in force. And becauſe thoſe lawes were founded by skilfull Authors, they have ſtrong diverſity of learning in them, and therefore the ſtudie of them doth not onely ſtore the wits of ſtudents with deepe and hard caſes of right and fact, but beſtowes upon them a faire

faire knowledge of antiquity, which is moſt precious for the adorning of humane life, and ſtrong (at leaſt in pleading) for oſtentation. But in thoſe nations, among whom lawes were made not according to the Roman wiſedome, but their owne municipall, and ſometimes barbarous decretalls, there the unpleaſant art of lawiers containes ſcarſe any-thing of humanity in it, and unleſſe it promiſed them gaine, would be hatefull even to thoſe that are the moſt ſtudious in it. For there the Lawyers dreſſe not their wits with the Roman and Græcian ſcience or eloquence, but ſticking upon certain termes, and contemplating the lawes ſometimes for caution, ſometimes

times for deceit, they ſcarce ever adorne or raiſe theyr mindes with purer learning.

England, which has entertained the Muſes, and all ſtudies of Learning in moſt ſtately houſes, and enriched them with great and high revenues, as it were to perpetuate learning to Eternity, cannot therefore adorne her Students of the Law with the humanity of Philoſophy, and the Roman eloquence; becauſe in her lawes there are no tracts and footſteps of the Roman law, or learned antiquity. They are conceived in the French tongue, even that old French, which wee now eyther neglect or laugh at in ancient Authors. If there be any words in it, which are

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now currant, even thoſe wordes, by changing the accents, and errour of pronuntiation, they have made their owne. Thoſe that are Students in this law, doe ſeldome regard any greater Science, and for the moſt part doe not learne the elements of the Roman language. It is thought enough for the learning of a lawyer to be able to reade over thoſe old bookes, and corrupt them in pronunciation. The young ſtudents live in colledges ordained for thoſe ſubtleties, and by long time, by conference with the ancients, and experience, are inſtructed in them: for it is no ſmall part of their age that will ſuffice to make them learned in an art ſo laborious, and ampli-

amplified by so many wits. There is no more certaine way to riches in that Countrey. For *England* quiet now from forreine warres, is (with almost as great a destruction) given wholly over to Law contentions; and seeing that the greatest Offices, and Magistracies are ordained as rewards for that kind of learning, no marvell it is if the noblest young men be taken with the study of it; insomuch as there is scarce any house of Gentry, but in suites can finde Lawyers of theyr owne kindred. Those Lawyers as a badge of their profession doe weare long Gownes downe to their feet, faced with theyr owne Cunnies skinnes. This is their

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weare at home, and their ornament abroad; nor doe they make any ſcruple of going in publike Booted, their Spurres tearing their Gowne that beates againſt them.

But *France* in other vertues and vices doth inſtruct her advocates. Some time they ſpend in the Vniverſity profeſſing the ſtudy of the Civill law. There ſome with a happie *Genius* doe follow their learning, others as if they were borne in a Lethargie. But both of them (oh the Times) are capable, as a promiſcuous reward, of the ſame honours and the ſame titles. For thoſe who have there played the trewants through wanton idleneſſe

or dulneſſe of Nature, may by the helpe of a little money attaine the degree of Advocate; onely by buying the ſuffrages of the other advocates, to whoſe teſtimony concerning the ſufficiency of Students the Magiſtrates and Iudges give credit.

Which was by an ancient cuſtome, that ſuch honour ſhould bee given to theyr teſtimonies, in the old time before the mindes of Learned men and Lawyers were ſubject to ſo baſe a mercenary way. And theſe men ſo undeſervingly admitted to that degree, doe afterwards live in ignoble Colonyes, and among ſoules of their owne dulneſſe, will ſerve to make

make wretched advocates before a blind Tribunall. Or if they bee borne of rich parents, they are ſtraight received for their wealth, and afterwards (which is the griefe) are made Magiſtrates.

But thoſe that have adorned a happie wit firſt with law, and afterwards with eloquence perfited it, they with their worth doe highly honour the whole ranke of advocates. Scarſe in any other men are the Studies of humanity ſo truely found, or ſo great and happy a care in good Learning; inſomuch as they ſeeme to inſtruct the Muſes (whom auſtere and rude Philoſophers have kept as wilde and ruſticke out of

the ſociety of men) to all the abilities of a civill life, and taking them from their ſecret and mountainous aboades, fit them for the true light of Converſation.

But ſome of them offend by affectation of too much Eloquence, and heated with the incitations of Youth and vaine glory, divert from their duty of advocation. They deſire onely to tickle the eare of the Iudges and Auditours with pleaſure, and of all the company, doe leſſe good to no man than theyr Client; and (as the Poët of old ſcoffed) when they ſhould ſpeake of Goates, they love to beginne theyr diſcourſe with the warres of HANNIBALL,

BALL, to rehearſe the overthrow at CANNÆ, and the ſtayning of AVFIDVS with Roman blood. Others of them are great by exerciſing theyr wits in a long cuſtome of deceiving, and to the ruine of innocence, proſtitute theyr mercenarie faith to the patronage of any Cauſe. So to beare downe the true evidences, to draw an artificiall ſhadow, and to make theyr wits have more to doe than the Lawes themſelves in a Court of Iuſtice, are things which proove enough this publike miſchiefe; there are no cauſes, no offences queſtioned but may finde a Patron; if they bring money; which, as a thing quite

outweighing all love to their Countrey, can never want obſervance and reſpect.

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The

The sixteenth Chapter.

Of Divines; Of Rulers in Religion.

LEt some of barbarous and unpolish'd natures scoffe, as they list, with contemptuous jests at the Majesty of learning; and account that mind manly and noble, which eschewes all the Muses as base and useleſſe; yet notwithstanding their estates are oftentimes lyable to the power of learning, which reignes in all cases; and in judgment seates (which ought to be governed by the præscript of science) they use to tremble, for-

forgetting both their birth and boldneſſe. But there is another and a greater power, which gives learning a domination over all Mankind; the adminiſtration of Religion and holy rites, which is committed uſually to men of learning; and which truely reignes over moſt mens mindes; curbing no leſſe all others, who are forced of neceſſity to conceale their Atheiſme and Impiety. Nor is there any eſtate ſo poore, or of ſo ignoble a birth, as can keepe a man from high fame, who in the way of religion puts forth himſelfe above the common honeſty or badneſſe. And leaſt we ſhould thinke that this power of learning hath not taken effect; how eaſily may

may we reckon up the names of men unarmed, and onely powerfull in their bookes, who in this age living under meane roofes, and contending in points of Religion, have set these great and proud contemners of the Muses, together by the eares? Bearing, as it were, the ensignes before Princes and Nations to calamitous and deadly warres, which yet (as it seemes) is not wholly appeased with our calamities, nor hath consumed the seeds of all that bitternes; which brought it forth.

There can be therefore no survey of mindes more profitable, than of those, which in these manifold stormes of the world doe sit at the sterne of religion. And these are

to be distinguished into divers rankes ; some as Captaines doe begin new religions, and eyther have true wisedome, or run headlong in ambitious errour. So was he that by lawes given from heaven governed the *Jewes* returning out of *Aegypt*. So was the great Creator of heaven and earth, who taking upon him man's nature, did by his death open the way of life to Mankinde. And so (because heere we describe not onely honesty, but fortune, which playes her games in humane affaires) was, Oh villany ! That man which infected with his venome first *Arabia* and *Syria*, afterward whatsoever lyes betweene the *Hellespont* and *In-*

dia, and now from thence all the Countries as farre as the hither part of *Hungary*. and with his ſacrilegious ſuperſtition hath corrupted almoſt all *Affrica*. And thoſe whom true and cœleſtiall inſpirations have led to the Majeſty of founding religion, are not to be looked into by us, bnt onely with faith and adoration. But others who are not afraid in ſo great a matter to abuſe Heaven, and cooſen the people, muſt of neceſſity have ſuch a minde as beleeves nothing at all eyther of their owne Lawes or of Heaven, as ſpares no vertue, nor forbeares (unleſſe perhaps in ſhow) any vice; but is eſpecially carefull to gaine to themſelves a veneration, turning

turning thoſe lawes, which they make, to the luſt and ſuperſtitions of their owne Nation. Nor can thoſe which offend in this kinde (as in other wickedneſſe it oft falls out) be deceived themſelves, or blinded with love of their owne opinions, or the things in queſtion; but being conſcious to their owne wickedneſſe, they know themſelves to be impious and the plagues of Mankind; eſpecially when to perſwade the people to ſuch a ſerious novelty is required a moſt bold preſumption, in ſubtill wit, and beſides many lyes are to be invented; as namely that they ſaw or heard the Deity; that they conſulted with him;

him; and whatsoever else those lewd impostors use to averre. But this is not a mischiefe incident to every age; for but few (and not alwayes with successe) have gone so farre as to that most impious audacity. There is another kinde of men, and farre more frequent, of those who professe not to forsake the religion of their Fathers, or to broach any novelty; but onely with more pure precepts to roote out errours which by humane corruption and contrary to the minde of antiquity have crept into religion. And these men carry a most magnificent show of honesty, and reverent wisedome (for who but subtill and industri-
ous

ous men would venture on ſo great a matter?) And laſtly, the very deſire of innovating and differing from other men doth almoſt alwayes finde a multitude of followers. The wrangling of ſuch interpreters have much more divided the OTHOMAN Princes from the PERSIAN by difference of Superſtition than by emulation of Empire. But what matters it how thoſe people periſh, who muſt needs erre, what ſect ſoever they undertake to follow? But who would not grieue that wee our ſelves which are borne into the onely light, ſhould by the diſcords of learned men bee ſo miſerably diſtracted? For ſixeteene ages, in which our reli-

religions have flouriſhed, have brought forth above an hundred wits, which by a deſire of innovation, and our calamities have gotten themſelves a fame. Whoſe proceedings as I can never excuſe (for by too great a fault of obſtinacy they tranſgreſſe againſt that modeſty, in wch they ſeemed to begin) ſo we may not alwayes juſtly hate their firſt motions. For wealth, ſloth, and idle ſecurity have with an impotent pride and other vices overwhelmed all diſcipline among many of us; and from thence as well the juſt indignation of learned men hath bin ſtirred, as the pride of buſie bodies, ſhadowed with the veile of piety, hath beene firſt foſtered. For ſome poſ-

poſſeſſed with juſt ſorrow have thundered againſt it; others with a ſecret ambition have loved the vices of the age, as things that would give juſt occaſion to their complaints and ſeparation. They uſe to have both one beginning. At the firſt they queſtion not many things, and thoſe very ſparingly, aſſiſted by the prayers and exhortations of the beſt men: nor doe they ſeeme ſo much to be angry as to admoniſh, and with ſighs to profeſſe their griefe. But when they are gotten to the height of a faction, then with more freedome doe they provoke their adverſaries, and on both ſides is kindled a moſt hot & furious emulatiō. Then can they neither moderate y e-

nough guide

guide the fortune of so great a fame, nor continue in those steps, by which at the first they seemed to goe to that godly and good endeavour; but rising up with a greater pride, they condemne more things in their adversaries, and with greater vehemency; eyther because they desire, in a miserable ambition, to give their owne names to that Sect which they have made: or because they durst not betray, but by degrees, the first intention of their separation; or else because their hatred is more incyted against those who did too fiercely and unseasonably contend against their first and wholsome reprehensions. So many that with pious beginnings

ginnings haue entered upon this taske of reformation, haue beene afterwards betrayed by pride and bitterneſſe of emulation.

But there are ſome who by a true and ſtout wiſedome are encouraged to take thoſe vices, which by the fault of Prieſts have ſhadowed themſelves under the Cloake of religion. Theſe men, whoſe juſt zeale is thus tempered with true modeſty, muſt needs be of a ſublime and valiant diſpoſition, and (which is rare) not labouring at all for their owne ends, but the publike good. By reproaches, injuries, and ill ſpeeches they are neyther ſtirred to hatred, nor frighted from their good intentions. This is a moſt excellent

cellent atchievment, and a worke of high vertue? For thoſe, who are reprehended by them, are ſeldome wanting to their vices, nor w̄ patience can they endure a cenſurer. But they will find ſome gloſſe to ſet upon their villanies, or (which is worſe) ſtand out in a ſtiffe defence of them; & endeavour to bring thoſe good admoniſhers, into an opinion of ſacrilegious impiety among the people.

But as the rites of beginning Religions do rely wholly upon the induſtry and *Genius* of their Founders: ſo, after they are approved by the people, they haue their officers by whom they are adminiſtred. Theſe men by ſeverall

verall Nations are honoured with different titles: we call them high Prieſts, Biſhops, and by other titles of that nature. There is no better Governement then this to preſerve Religion; which indeed was inſtituted by the preſcript of Heaven. Thoſe among them, which are of a learned and laborious vertue, doe indeed uphold the ſafety of Religion; thoſe that are wicked, doe uphold it, at leaſt in ſhow, and by vertue of their dignity.

It was once a function of great labour, and, whileſt our Religion was forbidden by publike lawes, of high and extreame danger: afterward when the cruelty of our enemies was ouercome

come and extinguiſhed, that wealth, which was heaped upon them to uphold the reverence of that dignity, did almoſt extinguiſh the cauſe of reverence. For when temporall wealth and honours were added (as it was fit they ſhould be added) to thoſe Divine callings, ſo great a burthen beganne to diſperſe them to the Earth, by the default of thoſe, who in ſuch a mixture of theſe two, beganne to preferre Earth before Heaven. It is a ſad argument of decaying honeſty, that a function of ſo great labour and care, which was wont to ſeeke out for Incumbents, is now ſought for with much eagerneſſe and ambition

tion by men, that thinke of nothing leſſe then piety and labour.

So this excellent and cœleſtiall dignity is for the moſt part ruined by her owne wealth and ornaments. And to apply a mans minde to thoſe functions is for the moſt part to be entent in raiſing of high and eminent riches. And thoſe that are poſſeſſed of thoſe ambitious titles, doe ſpend that wealth and treaſure, which was firſt given for publike Hoſpitality, upon their private wantonneſſe, which pleaſeth it ſelfe ſometimes with a vaine delight in Pictures, ſometimes in the curious labours of other Artificers; for a modeſt ſorrow would be aſha-

ashamed to speake of those that spend them in worse things, and plaine villany. But what madnesse is it not onely to dare to commit those villanies, but oftentimes to be ignorant how much they offend? For they have prayers prescribed them to God, holy ones indeede, and such as they ought not to omit; but having performed that little taske, they thinke then they owe nothing to Heaven, and the wealth of their Miters is lawfully bought by them. What strange vizards are these and foolish madnesse? to thinke that that function, which by a daylie and strict labour thou canst scarce performe, should

ſhould be fulfilled by a ſlight and perfunctory worke. But if they would ſeaſon their delights with this wholeſome cogitation, that they are placed in a watch-tower, and are called Shepheards; if any of the ſheepe do periſh by their ſloath, it will proove their owne deſtruction, this though perchance would allay the licence of their wantonneſſe, pompe, and jollity.

But all doe not wallow in the ſame delights and ſloath. Some doe abate ſomething from the charge of their pleaſures to beſtow upon learned men; themſelves alſo are given to learning, but it is but in a ſhort fit, not to laſt, and ſometimes in ſhow only.

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Some of them doe attaine to good learning, overcomming loath by a happy strength of wit. But they use that learning more in nothing than in mainteining the priviledges of that dignitie which they possesse. They find out arguments for infinite liberties of their owne, and their hidden lusts doe make them eloquent. By this meanes while they seeme to looke up onely into Heaven, and pleade the cause of God; they are staked to the Earth.

But those that have avoyded these mischieves, that are endued with a disposition fit for their high calling, and doe use their pub-

like ſplendour to the good of the people, and the grace of Divine ſervice (as there are alwayes ſome ſuch) thoſe will neither endure to looſe the priviledges which belong to their dignities, nor encroach upon other mens; but in a good contemplation they joyne together how much they can doe, and how much they ought. Theſe are men compoſed after the image of the old ſanctity, of the ſame cares, and the ſame manner of life, which in old time did deſerve that wealth, which the Church now injoyes. Laſtly, theſe men (let none envy what I ſay) are truely worthy of the wealth which old times beſtowed,

and

and of our higheſt reverence.

The people cannot be ſufficiently taught from the Prelates owne mouthes, for the number of them is but ſmall. From hence a great number of learned men, and graduates in Divinity are maintained every where, of whom ſome truely and wiſely doe labour in that ſcience which they profeſſe; but others, you would ſuppoſe, do labor more to uphold a faction, thā to find out truth. For carryed away with a great violence of mind they allow of a defence of any nature to proove to the people the ſanctity of their religion, and love to advance piety, though by impious

meanes. Therefore to maintaine their owne propositiõns; they thinke they deceive fairely and with commendations, although evident arguments may bring credit to that which they beleeve true. And speaking of their adversaries, they doe not truely deliver their tenets, but spitefully turne them, almost contrary to the sence of the Authors. But that mad desire of controversie doth so farre heighten their emulation, that where they begin a little to differ, they will afterwards be crosse in all things from those men; and thinke that a kind of piety. And then, as if those men who once have erred,

could

could hold or reproove nothing rightly, they thinke it a ſinne to acknowledge in themſelves any ſpots which thoſe men have found out, and to waſh them away by a true reformation; and therefore by ſtriving to defend thoſe things which plaine truth tells us cannot bee maintained, they bring an unjuſt præjudice upon the honeſt and true part of their controverſie.

There is a great affinitie betweene all ſorts of Learning; and the ſame affections which trouble Divines, doe fall upon the other ſtudies of the Muſes; eſpecially that cuſtome of inſiſting upon learned Controverſies, and

bringing them almoſt to plaine hatred. The wranglings of Lawyers doe grow even almoſt to uncivill words, threatning to each other the whip in our Age. Phyſicke is divided into ſects with greater obſtinacy; becauſe they hunt for fame not onely for their owne glory, but to gaine wealth; nor are theyr controverſies ever in jeſt, or for pleaſure onely, whileſt ſicke men muſt undeſervedly ſuffer for whatſoever they thinke amiſſe. But the kindes of all Learned men may bee diſtinguiſhed into two rankes: One is of thoſe men which are happie in much knowledge and erudition, but being poliſhed alſo with civill

vill disciplines, they doe avoyd the careleſſe vility of Scholaſticall manners: The other of thoſe men whoſe mindes are bent wholly upon letters, being more converſant in the rotten footſteps of Antiquity than in their owne Age; Theſe for the moſt part are fooliſh abroad, and ſordid at home. For they know not nor care for any other Elegancy, than that ſolitary elegance, which they receive from contemplation of the Muſes, and had rather enjoy it ſo, than make true uſe of it. Yet may you converſe with theſe men to a great benefit of your ſelfe, if you know how to extract gold out of their

crude and formeleſſe earth, and make your ſelfe to ſhine in thoſe ornaments, which in them are not ſeene, as covered over with much duſt and rubbiſh.

FINIS.